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ABSTRACT

Twenty-four Hispanic American professional women drawn from the fields of education, social services, and government by the Women's Research Program of the National Institute of Education met to develop a national research agenda which would begin to address the educational and occupational needs of Hispanic women. Twelve papers presented by activists and researchers at the conference dealt with: the lack of political involvement of Hispanic women; Hispanic women in education in New York and Chicago; Puerto Rican women in higher education; impediments to organizing Hispanic women; the cult of virginity; guidance and counseling of Hispanic girls; an overview of La Chicana and Chicana identity; relevant social issues; approaches to education for the Hispanic woman; and the Hispanic woman's marginal status. Participants identified four major issues: the lack of accurate research on Hispanic women; the identification of barriers to organizing Hispanic women; the identification of factors contributing to heavy employment of Hispanic women in low level positions; and the impact of existing equal rights legislation on Hispanic women. Participants came to the conference from varied Hispanic backgrounds but achieved a unity independent of geographical differences which was reflected in a philosophical statement of purpose and in a series of detailed recommendations regarding policy and research. (SB)

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Program on Teaching and Learning

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Hispanic Women

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CONFERENCE ON THE
EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL NEEDS
OF HISPANIC WOMEN

June 29-30, 1976
December 10-12, 1976

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Shirley M. Hufstedler, Secretary
Steven A. Minter, Under Secretary

OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENT
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September 1980

FOREWORD

The National Institute of Education (NIE) was created by Congress in 1972 as the primary Federal agency for educational research and development. It is now part of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. NIE's policy is established by the National Council on Educational Research, whose 15 members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

The Institute's mission is twofold: to promote educational equity and to improve the quality of educational practice. To this end, NIE supports research and dissemination activities that will help individuals—regardless of race, sex, age, economic status, ethnic origin, or handicapping condition—realize their full potential through education.

To address the issues of educational and occupational equality for women and to identify factors contributing to the underrepresentation of minority women in education and work, NIE held a series of conferences between 1975 and 1978 to solicit the views of Black, Hispanic-American, Asian-Pacific-American, American Indian, and White ethnic women. This volume contains the papers presented at the conference on the concerns of Hispanic-American women as well as individual and group recommendations from the participants. Included are policy, research, social, and humanitarian concerns, much of whose implementation fall beyond the mission, purview, and resources of NIE and the Department of Education. Therefore, NIE is now making them available to a wider audience.

These conferences were conceived, planned, and coordinated by the former Women's Research Program at NIE. In 1978, the administrative structure at NIE was reorganized into three broad program areas: Teaching and Learning (T&L); Educational Policy and Organization (EPO); and Dissemination and Improvement of Practice (DIP). The program activities previously undertaken by the Women's Research Program were expanded to involve three groups: the Social Processes/Women's Research Team in the Learning and Development unit of T&L; the Women's Studies Team in EPO; and the Minorities and Women's Program in DIP. Several other teams focus their attention on special topics such as women and mathematics, career development in women, and teenage pregnancy.

The minority women's conference marked the initial step in opening a dialog among researchers, practitioners, activists, policymakers, and a Federal educational agency. The actual publication of the conference reports has experienced various delays, but NIE has already acted on many conference recommendations. For instance, recent grants competitions have emphasized participation by minorities and women as grant recipients, reviewers, panelists, and as the target population in current research efforts. A sample of recent NIE-sponsored research focusing on minority women's issues is given in appendix B.

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The research agenda for minorities and women at NIE has grown considerably since the first conference 4 years ago. The Social Processes/Women's Research Team is developing a research area plan that focuses on how immediate social environment affects the learning, development, and lifetime opportunities of the individual. The Minorities and Women's Program is sponsoring programs to strengthen minority and women policymakers and researchers. In addition, many organizations such as the National Commission on Working Women emerged as a direct result of the conferences.

Credit for making the conferences a reality goes to Jean Lipman-Blumen, head of the former Women's Research Program, and the members of her team—Christina Hristakos, Carol Crump, and Joan Aliberti. Credit for making the conferences a success goes to the patient and devoted participants, the chairpersons, and the innumerable behind-the-scenes contributors who supplied invaluable contacts, advice, encouragement, and motivation. This publication is a tribute to the labors and generosity of all those people.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our deepest gratitude goes to the Women's Research Program of the National Institute of Education, with special thanks to Dr. Jean Lipman-Blumen and Ms. Christina Hristakos, for providing us with the opportunity to meet, share our concerns, and propose recommendations for research, policy and action programs focused on improving the condition of Hispanic females and their communities in the United States.

We also extend thanks to the staff of the National Institute for Community Development who so ably assisted us in our efforts.

Gracias.

Sinceramente,

THE PARTICIPANTS
Conference on the Educational and
Occupational Needs of Hispanic
Women

September 1977

IN MEMORIAM

We dedicate this Compendium to our dear sister and colleague, Gladys Correa. Those of us who had the privilege of knowing and working with Gladys realize that the mark she made on the lives of those whom she touched is lasting. Her drive, dedication, and boundless energy motivated her to champion the cause of Puerto Rican children, young adolescents, and adults within the educational system in New York State and the Nation.

Gladys was born in New York City and was raised on 110th Street in "El Barrio." Her father, Ricardo, and her mother, Jovita, who came to New York from Puerto Rico in the 1920's, taught her early in life the importance of helping others. She attended East Harlem's P.S. 101 and graduated from Julia Richman High School. She completed her B.A. and M.A. at Hunter College.

Gladys' first teaching assignment was at Galvani Junior High School, which later became I.S. 117 in Community School District Four. She went on to teach and became foreign language chairperson at the High School of Commerce, which later became Brandeis High School.

Gladys' profound compassion and sensitivity to people as unique human beings led her to concentrate her efforts in the area of human relations and group dynamics. She was human relations coordinator in District Three of Manhattan. As an expert in intergroup relations, Gladys provided human relations workshops for people throughout the country.

Gladys was dean of students at Hostos Community College and later at Universidad Boricua. She soon became supervisor for the Bilingual Unit at the State Education Department.

In the words of her brother, Hernán LaFontaine, "She is, and always will be, a ray of light that penetrates and illuminates our hearts, that moves our spirit, that gives us strength."

We, her sisters, pay tribute to a great lady.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Hispanic women actively involved in research, education, community service, and politics have long felt the need to unite their strengths. The conditions for such solidarity are now coalescing. In June and December 1976, Chicanas, Dominicanas, Cubanas and Puertorriqueñas met to develop a national research agenda which would begin to address the educational and occupational needs of Hispanic women.

We analyzed the context in which Hispanic communities, and Hispanic women, in particular, have struggled to survive. We discussed the multiple roots of exploitation, discrimination, and oppression, and the racism, sexism, and nonacceptance of changing lifestyles faced by Hispanic women in the United States. The similarities of our experience emerged as a stronger bond than the diversity that characterizes our social, cultural, and political modalities.

Our concerns include, but are not limited to, maintaining our unique language and cultural identity. More than 20 million Hispanic persons in the United States (we believe that the "official" census figure is an undercount) confront manifestations of inequality. The most serious of these are generalized poverty and pervasive political powerlessness. The conditions our communities face are the same. Ascriptions of individual failure or cultural pathology can no longer be used to rationalize systemic oppression.

Exploitation is a key issue engaging our attention as we define the structural bases supporting racial, ethnic, sexual, and class distinctions in their various combinations. Consequently, while we are part of the Women's Movement, we are not confining our struggle to overcoming sexual inequality. Hispanic women cannot separate the roots of their status from the conditions of their total community. Indeed, it is this consciousness which brings us to a new solidarity in our quest for collective and individual equality and self-determination.

Research and analysis are necessary for the expansion of our knowledge base. However, we are well aware of the deficiencies of researchers and educators trained by the very same institutions which perpetuate social stratification, legitimize sexual stereotypes, and structure the elitism and inequality pervasive throughout this nation. Therefore, to effect positive changes in our present status, research efforts must maximize community input in the definition of paradigms, methods, and areas of study, as well as in the conduct of the research. As we increase our comprehension, we look to research as an area in which relevant work, aimed at designing effective tools for transforming our present reality, can be conducted.

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We invite and look forward to stronger coalitions and collective work with women of different racial and cultural backgounds. Forged by this commitment to political and social change, we affirm our unity.

No hay fronteras que nos separan
No differences separate us
No hay paredes que nos nieguen paso.
There are no barriers to our movement.

Sylvia Gonzales.

THE PARTICIPANTS
Conference on the Educational
and Occupational Needs of
Hispanic Women

CHAPTER II

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It is understood that the term Hispanic defines a heterogeneous rather than a homogeneous community.

Hispanic women in the United States are an amalgam of millions of persons from a variety of races, religions, and political and cultural experiences. They are, through historical circumstance or political or individual design, a permanent and vital segment of our population who are striving to improve their status in this society, while maintaining their dignity and identity in both cultures.

The research, policy, and "action" recommendations developed at this two-part conference on the educational and occupational needs of Hispanic women reflect a pride in their cultures and a determination to move out of their marginal status and achieve equal participation for Hispanic females and their communities in North American society.

Twenty-four Hispanic women of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Cuban, and Nicaraguan descent—each with concerns relating to their respective cultures—met in June and December 1976, in Denver, Colorado, and Washington, D.C. Their task was to identify issues and develop, for the Women's Research Program of the National Institute of Education (NIE), sponsors of the conference, a realistic program of research, action, and policy recommendations that would address the educational and occupational needs of Hispanic women. However, their recommendations are aimed at a broader audience, which includes not only the Women's Research Program of NIE, but other Federal agencies and private institutions as well.

Conference participants were selected by the staff of the Women's Research Program of NIE from a bank of recommended professional women who, by virtue of

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their backgrounds, experience, and history of involvement, were considered leaders in their communities. The recommendations for participants were solicited from numerous sources, primarily from networks within the Hispanic community.

The majority of those participating were drawn from universities and represent a variety of faculty ranks (from assistant professor to vice provost) and departments (education, bilingual education, social work, public school ethnic studies, Puerto Rican studies, Mexican-American studies, and Chicano affairs). Two of the women were affiliated with private centers, one of which is concerned with urban school services, the other with Latino affairs. Three were independent consultants. An elementary physical education specialist, a director of a mental health program, and a State representative comprised the balance of the participants.

At the June meeting, the participants were surprised and pleased by the similarity of concerns expressed during the preparation of a conceptual framework within which their recommendations could be developed. As the discussions continued, awareness of these similarities increased, and cultural barriers receded. The participants began interacting at a cross-cultural level, and a spirit of trust and unity developed. The following comment, made by a participant, summarizes the group's perception of its situation:

> Those areas we thought were in conflict
> really are not—rather they are more
> distance, more geographical situations
> than they are spiritual.

Recognizing the magnitude of this newly found understanding, the participants prepared the "Statement of Principles" prefacing this document. It is a philosophical statement that reflects their unity and intent to address the social, economic, educational, and political needs of Hispanas in the United States.

Twelve papers were prepared by conference participants on subjects ranging from the socialization problems confronting Hispanic women to education and its impact on their educational and occupational opportunities. These papers were used as the basis for the identification of issues.

Major issues addressed were:

- The lack of valid research on the Hispanic female, the inaccurate information presented in the existing literature, the manner in which statistical data on the Hispanic communities are collected and presented, and the characteristics and sensitivities of the people conducting research related to the Hispanic communities.
- Identification of the factors contributing to the disparate concentration of Hispanic women in lower level positions in the work force.
- Identification of the impediments to the organizing of Hispanic women to bring about changes in the systems affecting their lives.

- The impact of existing equal rights legislation on Hispanas.

In addition to their research recommendations, the participants outlined policy criteria for conducting research related to Hispanics. These criteria include: the involvement of Hispanic communities in all phases of the research related to them, including the delineation of implementation procedures, and the timely dissemination of research results to concerned institutions and communities. The conferees proposed policies aimed at increasing both the Hispanic communities' research capabilities and the impact of Hispanic women on the policies and activities of Federal agencies and other institutions.

After adjournment, the participants, by unanimous decision, created The Coalition of Hispanic Women, an "action" organization formed for the purposes of continued policy planning, influencing educational institutions, lobbying, and coordinating activities among Hispanic groups. Conference participants are the charter members of this coalition.

Although the Hispanic women who participated in this conference take responsibility for the recommendations made herein, they emphasize that they do not presume to speak for all Hispanic women in the United States. They do, however, view the recognition of commonalities and the subsequent coalescence that characterized this conference as worthy of emulation by all Hispanic communities in their common goal of equal participation in society.

This Compendium has been approved for publication and distribution by a review board appointed by the participants.

CHAPTER III

RECOMMENDATIONS

Underlying these recommendations is our commitment not only to the needs of Hispanic women in all strata of society, but to the enrichment of the lives of the total Hispanic community in its struggle to gain recognition as equal, but unique, participants in American society.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The policies that guide the conduct of research are crucial to its success or failure. Therefore, the following policies must be instituted by any agency, institution, or group involved in this research:

- There must be a comprehensive, systematic, coordinated planning approach to the research.
- Data collection procedures, which will allow for analysis of each Hispanic group by sex, age, and geographic location (e.g., urban vs. rural), as well as by educational, occupational, and economic status, must be instituted.
- The communities involved must have a major voice in the selection of the content areas to be studied. The research sponsors must draw researchers, with or without degrees, from the communities being studied.
- Research proposals should include implementation objectives aimed at improving the social conditions of the people and institutions being studied.
- Research proposals should include procedures for the timely dissemination of results to the communities and institutions involved in the research.
- Research methodologies should be consistent with the cultural values and needs of the Hispanic communities involved.

The following recommendations focus on the content and funding of Federal, State, and local programs designed to address the needs of the Hispanic community:

- Existing Federal, State, and privately funded educational and occupational programs should be evaluated to determine their effectiveness and impact on Hispanic women.

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- The Federal Government should develop policies that will create comprehensive programs aimed at making occupational training programs a core part, not an appendage, of educational institutions.

- "Comprehensive" refers to Federal allotments to the institution or organization for an extended period of time (e.g., 3 to 5 years) to permit adequate planning and design of implementation procedures. Moreover, funds should not be allocated unless there is an institutional budget commitment for continuation of the project. For example, in the 1st year, two-thirds of the funding would be Federal, with the institution providing one-third. In the 2d year, Government funding would drop to one-third, and the institutional share would increase to two-thirds. In the 3d year, funding would be completely institutional.

- Bilingual education programs should be instituted as part of the regular curriculum of educational institutions. For the student whose primary language is Spanish, these programs should include continuous utilization, from preschool through postsecondary education, of the language and culture of the home background of the student. Utilization of English or Spanish as the second language and formal instruction in this second language should be offered simultaneously.

- The Office of Bilingual Education of the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should set up program review boards composed of representatives of the Hispanic communities, as well as Hispanic educators, social workers, sociologists, psychologists, and other such professionals selected by these community representatives.

- Councils of Hispanic parents, educators, social workers, and guidance and counseling professionals should be organized by the local school boards in districts having a sizable Hispanic enrollment. Among other review duties, the councils should analyze the cultural and linguistic content of the textbooks used in bilingual education programs for bias with respect to nationality, race, language, and sex.

- Hispanic students should be tested in their dominant language, and evaluation of their potential for success in school should not be accepted as reliable unless it has been approved by psychologists and linguists of the same national origin as the student. These tests should be considered a prerequisite for Federal and State funding of educational institutions.

- Federal, State, and local criteria for evaluating bilingual education programs must include assessment of program objectives that represent input from parents and students; program content for effectiveness in meeting the needs and expectations of the

Hispanic community; and the support provided by non-Hispanic professionals, staff members, and parents.

In addition:

- Hispanic females must be consulted in the preliminary stages of drafting legislation for women's equity to ensure that maximum attention is given to this segment of the population.
- Any enacted legislation focusing on women's equity must include monies earmarked for the needs of Hispanic women, e.g., legislation regarding vocational education.

Information on availability of educational and occupational programs must be disseminated to all segments of the Hispanic community, including those "locked" in barrios because of language or socioeconomic conditions. Therefore, we recommend:

- Maximum use be made of the media (e.g., prime time programing and commercials on radio and TV) to disseminate timely information, in both English and Spanish, on educational issues, career opportunities, training and counseling programs, legislation, etc.

In an effort to increase the Hispanic community's research capabilities, we recommend that:

- Hispanic women specifically be provided with research and training opportunities such as internships and fellowships.
- Innovative mechanisms be designed for conducting research and for disseminating the results of research relating to the Hispanic community.

To increase the impact of Hispanic women on the policies that affect their lives and the lives of the people in their communities, we recommend that:

- Federal agencies and other institutions provide for the representation of Hispanic women on all their advisory councils.

RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

Very little research exists on the Hispanic female, and the validity of the literature that does exist is questionable. Our governing assumption is that existing research is biased. Therefore, we recommend that:

- The findings in existing research or works dealing with the Hispanic female and with Hispanic communities be analyzed and reevaluated in terms of content areas, models, and underlying theoretical perspectives. The issues, models, and theoretical assumptions that surface from these reevaluations should form a more accurate and realistic basis for future research agendas.

Socialization

The socialization processes emanating from the country of origin and from American society have a great impact on the Hispanic female. Thus, before realistic programs aimed at meeting their educational and occupational needs can be designed, the effects of the processes of enculturation, acculturation, and/or assimilation must be understood. Therefore, we recommend that research be conducted to:

- Investigate those predominantly socioeconomic and sociocultural forces and values within each Hispanic culture and within the Anglo culture that impede or reinforce the progress of Hispanic women in education, in career choices, and in organizing to bring about improvements in their lives and in their community.

- Approach the sociocultural characterization of our Hispanic communities from two basic perspectives: (1) the common values and mores shared by all generations; and (2) the major forces that operate differentially by generation on those values and mores.

Important components of this research would be to identify the mechanisms through which Hispanic women transmit cultural values, and to determine how intercultural marriages affect the Hispanic community:

- Develop a crosscultural view of Hispanic women in literature, history, and the arts.

- Determine the factors (e.g., fear of being labeled acculturated) that limit the institutional participation of Hispanic women.

- Study the impact of Anglo feminist movements on the Hispanic community and the influence of the Hispanic Women's Movement on the Hispanic community as a whole.

- Assess the effect on Hispanic women of changing sex roles and the increasing alternatives for lifestyles, both voluntarily and involuntarily selected (e.g., single career women, single mothers, female heads of households, lesbians, communal living).

- Study women's roles from a cross-national perspective to identify how similar problems are resolved in different cultures.

Education

The Hispanic community is confronted with an educational system that perpetuates inequality, legitimizes stereotypes, continues social stratification, and places primary blame for failure on the victim rather than on the institution. These systemic failures seriously impede the socioeconomic development of Hispanic women and exclude them from certain options. Thus, the following recommendations focus on educational institutions and their policies and programs, with particular attention to bilingual education, occupational and career guidance, opportunities for higher education, and major sociocultural factors:

- Assess the policies, programs, goals, and curriculums of educational institutions, as well as the attitudes of the people involved in designing, administering, and implementing these components, to identify their role in the successes and failures of Hispanic females.

- Integral parts of this research would include the identification of the systemic mechanisms that discourage Hispanic females from achieving their educational goals, and the evaluation of the systemic mechanisms by which the performance of the Hispanic female student is measured vis-a-vis the performance of the total school population.

- Evaluate academic programs (preservice and inservice) that lead to the certification of teachers, administrators, and counselors of Hispanic students, to determine whether these programs are sensitizing educators to the cultural and linguistic differences of the various Hispanic communities, as well as providing educators with teaching strategies appropriate to these cultural backgrounds.

- Analyze and evaluate the curriculums of ethnic studies programs at all State and private universities to determine the accuracy of the sociocultural characterizations of the various Hispanic communities in the United States. Particular attention should be given to the portrayal of the Hispanic female within these communities.

- Include, in both elementary and secondary level curriculums, authentic, representative role models for the Hispanic female that reflect her sex-ethnic identity and legitimize her culture. These role models should be developed from case histories, biographies, poetry, songs, and recorded oral history.

- Develop, for inclusion in undergraduate and postgraduate programs, specialized, realistic courses on the socialization processes of Hispanic communities. These courses should be a requirement for the certification of teachers, counselors, and administrators.

- Conduct comparative analyses, in bilingual and monolingual, segregated and desegregated classrooms, of the areas of success and failure of Hispanic female students compared with those of Hispanic male students.

- Identify the learning processes used by Hispanic students both inside and outside educational institutions.

- Develop valid, specific, formal, and informal indicators for identifying gifted Hispanic students. The opinion of parents, peers, and other members of the Hispanic community, as well as those of professional Hispanic educators, must provide the basis for this research.

- Identify and compare the perceptions and expectations of sex-differentiated behavior held by educators of Hispanic students, by Hispanic students themselves, and by their families. This study should include the assessment, at key stages of their transition to higher education, of the psychological and social stresses on Hispanas who wish to preserve their Hispanic culture.

- Identify and evaluate the opportunities for higher education available to Hispanic women.

- Identify and evaluate the opportunities for the participation of Hispanas in athletic programs.

- Develop profiles of Hispanic women who currently are serving on faculties and in administrative positions in institutions of higher education.

Bilingual Education

The term "bilingual education" is a misnomer because it commonly refers to language and not to education. Moreover, the implications of "bilingual" must be clarified. For example, bilingual is frequently confused with bicultural, although these terms are not synonymous. In addition, people today are commonly considered "bilingual" if they are verbally fluent in two languages; however, the degree of their reading and writing abilities in either language is rarely considered when identifying their language competence.

Before an effective bilingual education program can be designed, the language competence, rather than the language performance, of both educators and learners must be established to determine the language through which they are best equipped to teach and learn.

The appropriateness of the standard textbooks used in bilingual education is also questionable. Many have been written by Latinos and Latinas living in Latin American countries. They are, therefore, very male-oriented and serve to perpetuate the sexual oppression of the Hispanic female.

The following recommendations are made to begin to address these issues:

- Evaluate the effectiveness of present bilingual education programs.

- Develop valid criteria for effective bilingual education programs. This research should include the development of accurate mechanisms for testing the competencies of Spanish-dominant and

English-dominant Hispanic Americans. (For example, should tests be administered in vernacular rather than in standard Spanish to those whose primary language is Spanish?) In addition, research should identify teaching methods that will enhance the responsiveness of bilingual education programs to the language competence of the learner, and it should evaluate the appropriateness of current standard bilingual education textbooks for Hispanic females.

- Define methods by which bilingual education may provide occupational and social mobility to migrant groups.
- Allot Federal, State, and local funds for bilingual education only to those programs in which policies are consonant with those outlined in the policy recommendations (chapter 3) of this report.

Occupation

Although the participation of Hispanic women in the work force has not been sufficiently documented, existing statistics indicate that the majority are employed in lower level positions. Before positive action can be taken to alleviate this disparate concentration, research must be conducted to:

- Identify the occupational categories in which Hispanic women currently are employed. This research should include delineation of the required skills and the pay scales for each category, as well as statistics which compare Hispanic women with the total and with the female and male segments of the labor force.
- Document Hispanic women's awareness of their rights under existing nondiscrimination legislation, their use of both this legislation and the courts to enforce the law in cases of employment discrimination, and their views with regard to obstacles which prevent their protection by nondiscrimination legislation.
- Identify the traditional and nontraditional occupations that require or utilize the bilingual skills of Hispanic women and determine the salary ranges of these occupations.
- Develop methods for providing credit for performance-based experience.

Career education for Hispanic women must become an integral part of the educational system. Before developing a comprehensive plan to implement this goal, research must be conducted to:

- Evaluate the appropriateness of educational programs for preparing teachers and counselors to assist Hispanic females in identifying and achieving their career goals.

- Identify, for counselors, the basic characteristics that will have the most positive effect on the career development of Hispanic females at all occupational levels.
- Identify the formal and informal mechanisms for "tracking" Hispanic females in secondary and postsecondary educational institutions and evaluate the effect of this "tracking" on career choices.
- Develop valid indicators of the vocational aptitudes of Hispanic women.

There is little systematic research focusing on the conflicting attitudes within Hispanic and American cultures toward the Hispanic woman's place vis-a-vis her family. Research is needed to understand how these cultural conflicts impinge on her motivation and career choice. Recommended research projects are:

- A comparative assessment of differences in the goals and stresses of Hispanic women in the work force and those in the home. (For example, the dynamics of the approach-avoidance conflict created in Hispanas by traditional sex and family roles and the involvement and achievement in education, career, and politics.)
- A study of existing childcare practices in Hispanic communities and the development of appropriate childcare models for Hispanic children based on these practices. A component of this study should be an evaluation of Federal childcare regulations to determine whether and how they conflict with Hispanic childcare practices.
- An evaluation of the effects of the welfare system on Hispanic women.

Career mobility options for Hispanic women need to be expanded. Recommendations relating to these concerns are:

- Survey and evaluate existing Federal, State, and privately funded occupational training programs to determine their effectiveness for Hispanic women.
- Through longitudinal and ethnographic case studies, develop role models of female Hispanic leaders. These case studies should trace the traditional and nontraditional career paths of these women, as well as the support systems they use.
- Develop comprehensive training models aimed at providing vertical and horizontal career mobility for Hispanic women.
- Develop networks of Hispanic women in various occupations.

- Identify the skills needed by Hispanic women who today are being thrust into roles for which, due to historic exclusion, they lack preparation (e.g., members of boards of education, directors of community agencies, etc.). After these skills have been identified, technical assistance for acquiring these skills should be developed.

Organization

In an effort to encourage Hispanic women to utilize the potent tool of organizing to influence the systems that affect their lives, we recommend that the following research be conducted:

- Analyze existing female-dominated, as well as male-dominated, Hispanic organizations. Components of this research should include:

    1. Analysis of methods and incentives utilized to form organizations;

    2. Delineation of each organization's specified goals and analysis of their degree of success in achieving these goals;

    3. Survey of client satisfaction with services performed by the organization (if appropriate, male-female comparisons should be included); and

    4. A comparative analysis of organizations concerned with similar issues (e.g., employment) and with the focus of the analysis on methods or strategies for accomplishing goals.

- Identify and develop profiles of Hispanic leaders and/or heads of organizations. This research should include a comparative analysis of successful leaders and organizers in Hispanic and other minority and Caucasian groups. Hispanic leaders of all female and mixed sex groups in the dominant society should be studied. Components of this research should include:

    1. Identification of leadership characteristics differentiated in the above sample of Hispanics;

    2. Identification and analysis of personal qualities that the Hispanic sample feels have contributed to its success as organizers or leaders;

    3. Identification and analysis of successful and unsuccessful organizing techniques and incentives;

4. Analysis of costs (risks) and benefits for Hispanic leaders and/or organizers, as perceived by them; and

5. Sampling of both women's and men's perceptions of Hispanic leaders with whom they are familiar.

- Design an "organizing resources" assessment model for Hispanic women to identify:

  1. Personal qualities they feel Hispanics possess and are important to organizing Hispanics and others;

  2. Cultural supports that could be used as resources for organizing;

  3. Issues that could be used as motivations for organizing; and

  4. Educational backgrounds and skills (traditional and nontraditional) that Hispanics could utilize as organizing resources.

- Determine the issues of sufficient importance to Hispanics to motivate them to overcome the costs (risks) and the cultural and systematic impediments to their organizing.

Legislation

Since the mid-1960's, several pieces of legislation have been enacted in an attempt to respond to the inequalities faced by women and minorities. Unfortunately, legislation such as Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the Women's Educational Equity Act, Title VI and Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act, and the Equal Pay Act have consistently neglected the needs of Hispanic females. We therefore recommend that:

- Studies be conducted to assess the impact of present and proposed legislation on the educational, occupational, and social status of Hispanic women.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

In the spirit of supporting equity for all women, and specifically for Hispanic women, we recommend that:

- The Equal Rights Amendment be ratified.

Research and other activities relating to the Hispanic community must be coordinated and disseminated. We therefore recommend that:

- The Federal Government establish a national center, with regional offices, for the coordination of research and other activities relating to the educational and occupational needs of the Hispanic community.

To assure NIE's continued commitment to the Hispanic community, we recommend that:

- NIE establish a permanent advisory group of Hispanic women composed, at least in part, of women drawn from participants at this conference.

IV. Group I: Activists

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CHAIRPERSON

María Ramírez

PRESENTERS:

Polly Baca Barragán. "The Lack of Political Involvement of Hispanic Women as It Relates to Their Educational Background and Occupational Opportunities."

Gladys Correa. "Puerto Rican Women in Education and Their Potential Impact on Occupational Patterns."

Frieda García. "The Cult of Virginity."

Elena Berezaluce Mulcahy. "Latinas in Educational Leadership: Chicago, Illinois."

Josephine Nieves. "Puerto Rican Women in Higher Education in the United States."

Theresa Aragon Shepro. "Impediments to Hispanic Women Organizing."

DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS:

María Cerda

Grace Flores

Pauline Martínez

Paquita Vivo

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CHAIRPERSON'S REPORT

María Ramírez
Coordinator, Bilingual Education
New York State Education Department
Albany, New York

A major issue identified by this group was that Hispanic Americans have traditionally been the subject of research, rather than the researchers themselves. Thus, increasing the research capabilities of the Hispanic community was identified as a priority activity for NIE. The group recommends that NIE:

- Develop an inventory of Hispanic researchers who are experts in their fields.
- Form regional research training teams composed of persons drawn from the above group of experts. The primary tasks of these teams would be to provide direction and assistance to Hispanas who are undergraduate and graduate research students, to assess present research methods, and to evaluate the results and implications of existing research relating to the Hispanic community.
- Identify potential researchers within the Hispanic student population and provide them with training in research techniques. This training should include direct involvement in the research process.

The participants also agreed that a process must be developed for planning future research relating to the Hispanic community. Among the questions raised during discussion were: developed by whom, and developed for whom? Questions which must be asked during the planning process were: what is the purpose of this research, and how will this research serve the Hispanic community?

Another major issue identified during our deliberations was the historic non-acceptance of the Hispanic community at all levels of Anglo society. To begin to address this problem, we recommend that the following studies be conducted by Hispanic researchers:

- Studies to clarify for Hispanic researchers the interplay between research and social policy.
- Studies to identify the barriers and oppressions that affect Hispanas in political, economic, educational, cultural, and religious areas.
- Studies aimed at assisting Hispanas to: clarify their unique Hispanic cultural values, as well as Anglo cultural values; manage conflict; choose among alternative lifestyles; shape facilitating environments;

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plan their careers; and become leaders in their communities and in their chosen fields.

We also recommend:

- The development of data collection procedures to reflect accurately the status of Hispanas in their communities, in the academic world, and in the labor market.

Specific research questions identified during discussions were:

- How does the internalization of Anglo cultural values affect Hispanic females?
- How do the Hispanic and Anglo socialization processes hinder the full participation of Hispanic women at all levels of Anglo society?
- To what extent are Hispanic women involved in bilingual education planning and policy development, health-related issues, and the media?
- How can a nationwide system be developed to encourage Hispanic women to accept leadership positions and to provide support to them in these positions?
- How are special and career education programs serving Hispanas in their youth, middle age, and old age?
- How does the historical representation of the Hispanic woman in literature affect the Hispana of today?
- Are internships available to Hispanic women who wish to pursue professional careers? Are more needed? If so, what types?
- How do international policies affect women of Hispanic descent living on the U.S. mainland?
- What are the factors which perpetuate stereotypical representations of Hispanic women?

This conference served as a forum for the exchange of ideas and, more importantly, for establishing stronger bonds among Hispanic women of unique cultural heritages. We recognized our common concerns and joined in identifying our common goals and aspirations. We are determined to make our voices heard in a political system that has traditionally negated the needs of minorities.

Joined in the spirit of Hispanic sisterhood, the women of this group charge NIE with the responsibility for responding, in a positive manner, to our recommendations. We await a commitment from NIE.

A brief summary of the content of each paper and the specific recommendations that resulted from the paper's discussion follow.

THE LACK OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT OF HISPANIC WOMEN AS IT RELATES TO THEIR EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

By Polly Baca Barragán

The author proposes, in the aftermath of the Bicentennial year, an analysis of how far we have come toward the full achievement of democracy in regard to our treatment of minorities and women, our freedom of expression (or lack of it), and our respect for the dignity and worth of the individual and his or her right to develop freely to his or her fullest capacity.

As part of the female minority group, the Hispanic woman has traditionally played an almost nonexistent role. She generally is not represented on boards of women's groups, her problems are not usually addressed when "general" programs of women are discussed, her views are not represented in the media, and her problems are further compounded by various degrees of lack of attention.

The secondary role traditionally played by Hispanic women is aggravated by their lack of representation in the political arena. The author cites many examples of the low level of representation, such as the absence of Hispanic women serving in either the U.S. House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate. Only in recent years have Hispanic women achieved some degree of political influence and power.

To exercise political influence, one must first gain knowledge (through the educational system or on-the-job training) and then capture "positions of power." The correlation between the ability to achieve an education and the ability to express oneself in the political system is obvious. Hispanic women consistently had fewer opportunities to do either.

It is an indictment of our educational system that Hispanic women are in a secondary position of influence. Our schools train people to adapt to, rather than challenge, existing systems; and they discourage new people from participating in the political system.

Author's Recommendations

To capture and hold elective offices, or influence those holding office, Hispanic women must:

- Analyze how the political system works in the various political arenas (local, State, or national).
- Plan an overall strategy that will enable them to "infiltrate" the existing system (gain the nomination of their parties and use the party's machinery in their campaigns).

- Realize that they must take their rightful place as leaders of people, not just as leaders of the Latino Movement or the Feminist Movement.

Until the unique educational and occupational needs of the Hispanic woman are met, she will never be able to exercise her democratic right of political participation or develop to her fullest capacity.

PUERTO RICAN WOMEN IN EDUCATION AND THEIR POTENTIAL IMPACT ON OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

By Gladys Correa

This paper focuses on Puerto Rican women in New York City, with regard to both their leadership roles in education and their potential impact on occupational patterns in New York.

Bilingual education programs, in particular, have opened more doors for the professional development of Puerto Rican women in New York than any other educational program. Although only approximately 3,000 positions are currently held by Hispanic women in higher education on the United States mainland (most of these are "fringe positions"), Puerto Rican women presently are in charge of bilingual education in the New York State and City departments of education. However, Hispanic women are still a powerless minority, and the gains that have been made are in danger of being lost unless city and State budget commitments are made. (This will institutionalize the positions and will decrease the dependence on Federal funds.)

To reverse the trends of inadequate education for Puerto Ricans and to remove the subsequent handicaps they suffer when competing in the job market, Hispanics must gain access to key leadership positions in education.

The author maintains that resistance to bringing bilingual education to the core of educational systems reflects both a resistance to the change necessary to meet the needs of minorities, and a ". . . resistance to accepting the professional equality of minority members of the institution—particularly women." Puerto Rican women in New York suffer the double discrimination that results from being Puerto Rican and female.

Other points made by the author relate to the need for the participation of Hispanic women in the conduct and dissemination of research relating to minorities, the need for closer study of rapidly changing social structures, and the need for research to study the processes of learning and to determine how cultural and individual values form the basis of decisionmaking in educational and career choices.

The author identifies six sociocultural factors which affect Puerto Rican women in assuming their roles in the United States: (1) The effect of rural values on urban Puerto Rican women (family systems, "supermother," inability to resolve their need for self-development, changes in relationships between the sexes, changes in the number of single or divorced persons, transition from the extended family). (2) The effect of homosocial relationships (girls with girls, boys with boys) on occupational choices. (3) The effect of differences between sex roles in public and at home (male-dominated or matriarchal, "mother worship," the lure of being a mother and how it affects education and career aspirations). (4) The effect of cultural values on career choices. (5) The effect of guilt feelings when competing with men. (6) The effect of a woman's success on her opportunities for stable, intimate relationships with men.

Author's Recommendations

- Shape a multicultural view of the Women's Movement in the United States.
- Sponsor each other for leadership positions.
- Support programs such as bilingual education.
- Help fund women's organizations.
- Carefully explore the values behind research and the impact of research on the lives of minorities.
- Study the effect of the pressures of rapid change on our psychosocial development.
- Help Hispanic women understand and participate in the process of political decisionmaking.
- Work to institutionalize bilingual education: "As long as bilingual education is kept on the fringe of the educational system, so will a significant number of Puerto Rican men and women . . . ."

THE CULT OF VIRGINITY

By Frieda García

This paper is based on observations made by the author in the Dominican Republic and in the Hispanic community of Boston.

The "cult of virginity," which proclaims virtue as a woman's only value, has been—and still is—used to control Hispanic women. From birth, at which time a female child is called a chancleta (wornout scuff slipper), every aspect of the female's life is restricted. She learns household duties as soon as possible, both to prepare her for life and to keep her within the confines of her parents' home. Since those household duties take precedence over education, little importance is given to studies. This attitude obviously does little to encourage independence and high aspirations.

As the female approaches marriageable age, the message that virginity is all that she has to offer is reinforced by such old wives' tales as the one which proclaims that, if a bride is not a virgin, her veil will fall off at the altar. An early marriage is encouraged, and the period of courtship is a further test of the woman's submissiveness.

A Hispanic woman is never free to remain unmarried. The structure of marriage is authoritarian; the woman is socially and psychologically inferior. The husband's judgment is final. (This is usually accepted because women have been taught to believe that men, through intelligence and experience, are better equipped to cope with important problems.)

The only role where respect is guaranteed, and a degree of status achieved, is that of motherhood. A man's loyalty to his mother takes priority even over his allegiance to his wife and family.

The Catholic Church further reinforces the "cult of virginity," particularly through its stand on birth control (which reinforces the position that a woman's body is not her own), and by condemning women who deviate from the tradition of mating only through marriage.

Women from the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico experience profound culture shock. Women come to the United States ". . . carrying a backpack of tradition without the accompanying reinforcements of that society." The results are often serious psychological problems for these women and an increase in their sense of worthlessness.

Author's Recommendations

- Before we can plan a program to attract Hispanic women, we must gain a thorough understanding of what is within the person and what might be immobilizing her.
- The apparent lack of interest in educational and occupational progress among Hispanic women could be the psychological elements functioning as a factor acting against participation in these programs.

PUERTO RICAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

By Josephine Nieves and Margaret Martinez

In addressing the subject of Puerto Rican women in higher education, it is necessary to relate the condition of Puerto Rican women to that of the Puerto Rican community. As is the case with black and Chicana women, Puerto Rican women are doubly affected—by discrimination against their group as well as by discrimination against their sex. Moreover, many of the problems faced by minority women are aggravated by the exploitation of minority male heads of households and the overwhelming effects of poverty resulting from that exploitation. The status of minority women therefore cannot be separated from the problems confronted by their community as a whole. It is only in that context that the particular, albeit more severe, problems of Puerto Rican women in the United States can be understood and addressed.

Socioeconomic data for the Puerto Rican community show a severely depressed group for whom advanced training opportunities become essential to their capabilities for economic survival. The virtual exclusion of Puerto Ricans from access to higher education has had serious consequences for present and past generations. There also is every indication that lack of access to higher education will continue to further rigidify a social structure that preserves privilege and maintains a separation of classes. Future generations of Puerto Ricans will likely remain at an extreme level of depression, even beyond that of other minorities.

During the "liberal era" of the late 1960's and early 1970's, national policies promoting equal opportunity led to an opening up of the university to minorities and women. Recently, the policies of retrenchment imposed by universities, with accompanying reductions in Federal and local financial aid to students, have served to wipe out the minimal gains made by Puerto Ricans in that earlier period.

An example is the experience of Puerto Ricans in the City University of New York (CUNY), the single most important university for Puerto Ricans outside of Puerto Rico. The authors estimate that over 70 percent of all Puerto Rican college students in the continental United States attend CUNY, and the overwhelming majority are from poor and working-class families. Five years of an open admissions policy offered a tuition-free college education to all New York City high school graduates and increased Puerto Rican student enrollment from 4.8 percent in 1970 to 7.4 percent in 1974. The abolition of open admissions, the newly imposed tuition requirements, and the general insecurities around cutbacks are expected to reduce, by at least one-third, and probably one-half, the number of Puerto Ricans and other minorities entering CUNY in September 1976.

The impact of this reduction on the number of Puerto Ricans eligible for graduate schools and of those who could enter professional and technical positions is only too evident. We can anticipate, at best, a continuously low 4 percent of all Puerto Ricans in professional and technical positions, or, at worst, a decline in that percentage.

The well-established, generally acknowledged pattern of discrimination in the hiring and promotion of all women has an impact, to a more aggravated degree, upon Puerto Rican women. A miniscule number of Puerto Rican women hold faculty positions in colleges and universities in the United States; for Spanish-speaking women as a whole, it was 6 percent in 1970. In CUNY, the total number of Puerto Rican women in faculty positions in 1973 was 124, (more than half without professional rank), out of a total female faculty of approximately 6,541 and a total faculty of 18,865. Before 1970, which marked the first year of open admissions, there were very few Puerto Rican women in faculty positions in CUNY. Current retrenchment policies here, too, will take a heavy toll on Puerto Ricans, particularly women. The dismissal of instructional staff for the fall of 1976 has already been 50 percent greater for blacks and Puerto Ricans than for the rest of the faculty, and proportionately worse for minority women, who are fewer in number than the minority male faculty.

The future for Puerto Rican women, as students and as faculty in institutions of higher education, seems dismal, as does the likelihood of any increase in the percentage of Puerto Rican women entering the professional and technical categories of employment.

Author's Recommendations

- A comprehensive data base on Puerto Ricans should be developed. From these data, profiles of specific segments of the population could be formed (students, women, etc.).
- Comprehensive data on the status of Puerto Ricans in education, particularly in higher education, should be developed.
- NIE should support studies analyzing the condition of Latin women in the United States. Particular attention should be given to the needs of the Puerto Rican community.
- Research should have implementation objectives, be aimed at improving social conditions, and should be related to the people and the institutions involved. Without these factors, any research is meaningless.
- The communities involved should have a major voice in the choice of areas of study and subsequent implementation.
- An ongoing advisory committee for each ethnic group should be formed.

LATINAS IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

By Elena Berezaluce Mulcahy

In this paper, the author addresses Latina activism and the theme of leadership among Latinas.

When Latinas in Chicago organized community and educational representatives to protest the passage of an antibilingual education bill in Illinois, legislators were startled by the degree of coordination and activity of the group. The bill was ultimately defeated, and bilingual education is now mandated in the State.

Because women have traditionally felt comfortable in the field of education ("a woman's field," child-related, etc.), Hispanic women are emerging as leaders in this area. The primary goal of the leadership, however, is the liberation of a people, without identification with the Women's Movement.

The author cited several additional examples of Latina activism. Universidad Popular is a Latin American women's program (involving the men in the community as well), which includes classes in coping, child development, English, etc. Mujeres Latinas en Acción is one of the first groups providing programs for other Latinas. It provides social services to teenage girls, remedial reading, counseling, recreation, etc. This group also encourages men's involvement in activities. Chicago's Latina Conference dealt with the roles of Latinas in American society. Women were urged to consider media careers to change the image of Latina women. Resolutions condemning the sterilization of Puerto Rican women and supporting ERA were adopted. Workshops were held on the Latina adolescent and on the social roles of women.

With regard to the conference, Ms. Mulcahy observed that:

- Many participants were involved in a women's conference for the first time.
- Organizers and participants were usually active in the community as well.
- There was almost no representation of the traditional "in the kitchen" Latina.
- Topics of discussion invariably turned from the subject of women to issues in the community.

Leadership was the second major theme of this paper, and the author gives a description of the characteristics of the woman who is typically a community leader.

Author's Recommendations

- Latinas must achieve a balance between their identification as Latinas and participation in the Women's Movement.
- We need women to assume leadership in developing programs that enhance our potential.
- The Women's Movement should not ask us to join now, but should "invite us to partake of what they have to offer . . ." to increase the dialogue and to "build bridges" between themselves and us.

IMPEDIMENTS TO HISPANIC WOMEN ORGANIZING

By Theresa Aragón Shepro

Most traditional studies on Chicano political powerlessness point to the Chicanos and their culture as the major reason for this lack of power. Chicanos and their political and organizational behavior are characterized as submissive, imbued with foreign values with a resultant lack of understanding of the American political system, and incapable of achieving ethnic unity.

Recent studies question these conclusions and point to other factors—such as gerrymandering and poll taxes—as impediments to Chicano political and organizational activities. A review of these studies indicates that Chicanos are faced with both internal (cultural) and external impediments to organizing.

A contextual setting is essential for discussing impediments to the organizing of Chicanas, in particular with regard both to their status in the dominant society and to their position within La Raza (the community). The problem of the Chicana is basically that of a socioeconomic and political system which perpetuates inequalities. Since economics and educational resources play an important role in facilitating effective organizing, the Chicana's ability to organize is limited, of necessity, and inequalities are thus perpetuated. The literature that exists with regard to the Chicana within her cultural context reinforces stereotypic notions such as male dominance, female passivity, etc. Also, these same studies point to assimilation as the only potential solution to the problems of both Chicanas and Chicanos.

Chicanas, in attempting to combat these negative views, also are attempting to define themselves as individuals. Many of the internal impediments to organizing are attitudinal; most of the external impediments relate to a lack of resources.

Author's Recommendations

If research is to be used as a method for providing viable alternatives for organizing, it must be based on the Chicana's present reality, it must be consistent with her goals, and it must consider the diversity of groups within the Chicana population. Examples of proposed research are:

- Analyze existing Chicana organizations.
- Identify Chicano leaders and develop a profile of their leadership characteristics.
- Develop a design for assessing the "organizing resources" of Chicanas. (What personal qualities are considered most important? What educational background and skills are most useful?)

THE LACK OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT OF HISPANIC WOMEN AS IT RELATES TO THEIR EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Polly Baca Barragán

Democracy, according to Webster's Third New International Dictionary's sixth definition, is "A state of society characterized by tolerance toward minorities, freedom of expression, and respect for the essential dignity and worth of the human individual with equal opportunity for each to develop freely to his fullest capacity in a cooperative community."

In this Bicentennial year, 1976, an analysis of how far we have progressed toward the full achievement of democracy might be appropriate. Is this a society characterized by a tolerance toward minorities and women? If it is, then should not minorities and women be reflected in proportional numbers in the elective bodies of a representative democracy?

Is this society characterized by true freedom of expression? If it is, then should not the various cultural groups that make up our society be reflected in its art, media, and political expressions?

Do we, as a nation, have a deep respect for the essential dignity and worth of the human individual with equal opportunity for each to develop freely to his/her fullest capacity in a cooperative community?

And finally, have all individual Americans had an equal opportunity to obtain the educational background necessary to achieve the occupational opportunities to allow the free development of the individual to her/his fullest capacity?

One group of Americans has been traditionally left out of the mainstream of our society. It is a majority group in one sense and a minority group in another sense, and has been discriminated against over the past 200 years. The group comprises women of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Spanish heritage—more commonly identified as Hispanic women.

To measure how far we have progressed toward the full achievement of a democracy, let us take a look at the Hispanic woman in today's American society.

The Hispanic woman is a part of the Hispanic minority group as well as a part of the female majority group. Within her Hispanic minority group, she has been relegated traditionally to a subordinate position because of the dual system of rights and responsibilities within the Hispanic culture. Although the Hispano, or male, has been a target of bigotry and discrimination, he, in turn, has assumed the dominating role in relationships with the Hispanic woman, particularly in matters outside the home, such as politics, education, and employment.

REPRESENTATION

As a part of the female majority group, the Hispanic woman has been again relegated to an almost nonexistent role. She is traditionally not represented on the boards of any of the major women's groups. One only has to look at the letterheads of the various national women's groups to note the lack of Spanish surnames. Her problems and concerns are usually not addressed when feminist groups speak of the "general" problems of women. Her views are not represented in the media or on speakers' platforms. Her unique problems are thus compounded by lack of attention.

The secondary role from which the Hispanic woman must attempt to leap into the mainstream of society is further aggravated by the lack of representatives to voice her particular concerns. This is perhaps most dramatically illustrated in the political arena.

Before the November 1976 elections, there were only three women of Hispanic heritage who held elective public office at the State level in this country: Ernestine Durán Evans, Secretary of State in New Mexico; Consuelo Jaramillo Burrell, State Senator in New Mexico; and Polly Baca Barragan, State Representative in Colorado. This is in contrast to the 599 women elected to State legislative bodies in 1974, which is still only about 8 percent of the 7,584 members of State legislatures.

From November 1974 through November 1976, 45 women held statewide elective office, only one of whom was of Hispanic heritage. Although 18 women and 5 Hispanos served in the U.S. House of Representatives during this period, not one was a Hispanic woman. A Hispanic woman has never served in either the U.S. House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate.

Only in recent years have Hispanic women begun to break out of traditional patterns that restricted them to the home or to jobs related to the home. As recently as 1975, the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor published a survey that noted: "Of the adult women not in the labor force, 92 percent of the women of Spanish origin reported home responsibilities as their major activity; this compared with 90 percent for all white women and 83 percent for all black women."

Hispanic women not in the labor force would be an ideal source of campaign workers if they were to become politically involved. But ironically, the few Hispanic women who have gained high political office within their respective political parties have been career women.

Before 1972, no Hispanic woman outside Puerto Rico had ever served as a member of either major political party's national committee or national executive board. However, in the spring of 1972, California elected Ms. Mary Ledesma, a career woman, as one of its 10-member delegation to the Democratic National Committee (DNC). At the July 1972 Democratic National Convention, Ms. Ledesma became the first Hispanic woman to be elected to the DNC's Executive Committee, which is the policymaking body for the National Democratic Party.

During the following year, three other women from mainland United States were elected to the DNC. They were Theodora Martínez, a Puerto Rican from New York; Cecilia Esquer, a law student from Arizona; and Polly Baca Barragan, a public relations specialist from Colorado. Thus, of more than 150 women members of the DNC in March 1973, only four were of Hispanic heritage.

The highest political appointment usually given to a Hispanic woman has been administrative secretary to an elected official. But in 1975, for the first time in the history of mainland United States, two Hispanic women received Cabinet-level appointments from the governors of two States.

Governor Jerry Apodaca of New Mexico appointed Ms. Graciela Olivarez to be the director of the State Planning Office. Ms. Olivarez had previously distinguished herself as the first woman to receive a law degree from the University of Notre Dame. This was achieved after she had been admitted to the university's law school without a B.A. degree and with only a General Educational Development (G.E.D.) high school diploma.

In New York, Governor Hugh Carey appointed Ms. Angela Cabrera as the director of the State's Women's Bureau, the first Hispanic woman to receive this level in the New York State. Before her appointment, Ms. Cabrera also had been distinguished as the first Puerto Rican to be elected to the vice chairmanship of the New York State Democratic Party.

Although a few Hispanic women have achieved some degree of political influence and power, their numbers have been so small that their efforts to obtain equal educational and occupational opportunities for their members are dwarfed by both the Chicano and the Feminist Movements. Without equal opportunity in these critical areas, Hispanic women are denied their democratic right to be reflected in proportional numbers in the American elective bodies.

Why have Hispanic women found themselves so far behind when it comes to exercising political influence and power? Before one can exercise political influence, one must first capture political power, whether through public office or pressure group positions. To capture these "positions of power," one must first have some knowledge of the system and how it works. This knowledge can be gained either through education or on-the-job training. Knowledge of the political system and other "systems of power" helps pressure groups to gain footholds in influencing those systems.

EDUCATION AND JOBS

A democracy provides that systems of power can be influenced through freedom of expression at the ballot box and in the press. But to exercise this freedom, one must have some education. There is an obvious correlation between a person's ability to achieve an education and her ability to express herself in the political system or "to develop freely to her fullest capacity in a cooperative community."

Hispanic women consistently have had less opportunity to receive an education than their male counterparts. They also have had less education, on the average, than either black or white women. In 1973, the median school years completed by white women workers numbered 1.25, as compared with 12.1 years for minority race women, according to the 1975 Handbook on Women Workers, published by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. This handbook further points out that : "About 17 percent of the minority race women workers had completed 8 or fewer years of schooling, as compared with less than 10 percent of white women workers."

As low as they are, 1973 figures on educational attainment are still significantly better than the figures of 11 years earlier. Between 1962 and 1973, the median number of school years completed by minority race women workers rose from 10.5 to 12.1 years. For white women, the comparable figures were 12.3 to 12.5 years. The percentage of minority race women workers who had completed only 8 or fewer years of schooling was nearly 37 in 1962, as compared with 17 percent in 1973. This improvement in educational attainment correlates with increased political activity. As the educational gap began to close during this period, Hispanic women began to become politically involved and gain a foothold in the political process. They achieved membership on the DNC for the first time in history and also captured some elective offices at the State level.

Although the 1973 statistics did not separate the educational attainment of Hispanic women from that of other minority women, such a comparison is available for figures of women in the civilian labor force. The 1975 Handbook on Women Workers states that in 1973, of the more than 3.2 million Hispanic women 16 years of age or older, 1.3 million (nearly 40 percent) were part of the civilian labor force. However, the handbook also points out that "as a proportion of the population, the labor force percentage was lower for women of Spanish origin (41 percent) than for all black women (49 percent), or all white women (44 percent). Among adult women 20 years of age and over, the labor force participation rates were 41 percent for the women of Spanish origin, 52 percent for all black women, and 44 percent for all white women."

Of the Hispanic women in the labor force, more than 42 percent were employed in white-collar jobs, over 33 percent in blue-collar jobs, nearly 23 percent in service occupations, less than 2 percent in farm jobs, and only 7 percent in professional and technical occupations. The proportion of Hispanic women employed in clerical jobs (27 percent) was lower than the proportion of white women in clerical jobs (36 percent). In Federal employment, there were only 10,982 Hispanic women, and they comprised 2.2 percent of the full-time white-collar women employed by the Federal Government.

The lower percentage of women in the labor force can be attributed, in part, to the attitude of Hispanic women and to their culture. As noted previously, 92 percent of the Hispanic women not in the labor force listed home responsibilities as their major activity; this percentage was higher than that for either white or black women. This attitude of Hispanic women is consistent with the higher proportion of young children in Hispanic families. In March 1974, about 34 percent of Hispanic families had five or more members, as compared with 22 percent for all U.S. families. In addition, about 13 percent of the Hispanic population in 1974 was under 5 years of age, as compared with 8 percent for the country as a whole.

While there is only a slight difference between the percentage of Hispanic women and other women in the labor force in general, the same difference in professional and technical occupations is much greater. Only 7 percent of the Hispanic women employed are in professional or technical occupations—compared to 15 percent for Whites and 12 percent for all minorities. This percentage can be attributed directly to lack of educational attainment, which is also reflected in the employment of most of the Hispanic women in the lower income brackets, for it is reasonable to assume that the probability of exercising some degree of political influence increases with movement into higher income brackets. Those employed in the lower income categories can exercise political influence only if and when they gain a knowledge of the political system and understand how to use their leverage or organize as a pressure group. This activity could result in greater promotional opportunities or higher pay. But as of this year (1976), Hispanic women have not yet learned how to exercise their political leverage as a group. As a consequence, they continue to lack political influence and power in the economic and educational arenas.

It is an indictment of our educational system that Hispanic women are in this secondary position of influence. One has but to take a good look at that system. Historically, this country's educational system has functioned to maintain the status quo. Our schools train people to adapt to existing systems rather than to challenge or change those systems. Few public schools have endeavored to teach their students how to become involved in and use the political process. Some courses have attempted to explain why one should be a good citizen and vote, but few practical courses in political training are available. As a consequence, individuals such as Hispanic women who have not gained political experience or background in the family are usually neither informed about nor prepared to participate in the political decisions that affect their daily lives, even though they may have been able to obtain an education. They are unaware of how to influence decisions that are made daily in city council chambers, county court houses, State capitols, and the United States Capitol. These decisions affect how much money they must pay in taxes, the quality and nature of education available to their families, the availability of jobs, or the training they might acquire to help them get off welfare. Rather than encouraging new people to participate in the political system, the educational system has discouraged them.

At the same time, persons in control of the political system, whether liberal, conservative, or moderate, have adopted the same political tactics that have been in existence since the birth of our Nation. Historically, when groups have achieved positions of power, there is an overt attempt to centralize that power to maintain it. New groups coming into the political system are viewed as a threat to the existing power base. This cycle could be changed if our schools were to teach all students how to influence and use our political system.

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Hispanic women can also help break this cycle by making a systematic attempt to become involved politically. To influence or capture elective offices, Hispanic women must be prepared to do several things. First, they must analyze how the system works in the political arena where they are located, whether at the local, State, or national level. Second, they must plan a strategy over a period of time that will enable them to "infiltrate" the existing system. This will require long hours and hard work before they can get a "bit of the action." Then, Hispanic women must acquire the patience to wait until the right opportunity presents itself and must be prepared to act at the right moment. When a Hispanic woman believes she can win an elective office, she must have the courage to present herself as a candidate.

As a candidate, the Hispanic woman will have to overcome some basic disadvantages. She will have to prove that she is competent. Men will initially expect her to fail. They will question whether she can fill more than one role: community activist, breadwinner, spouse, parent. A myth in today's society is that women should be limited in their choices of roles. A woman can fill more than one role, just as a man can. A person can succeed at being a mother or father, as well as a wage earner, a spouse, and a participant in community activities such as politics.

The Hispanic woman will also have to deal with the "politics is dirty and no place for women" syndrome. One could point out that politics is no more deceiving than any other profession. Politics or politicians merely reflect the morality of the citizens they represent.

As a potential candidate, the Hispanic woman must first capture her party's nomination. She should develop a three-part strategy: (1) She must get as much support as possible from the existing party workers. She must never assume that someone will not support her unless she has been told personally that she will not be supported. (2) She must develop and conduct a well-planned and organized voter registration drive for people who would be most likely to support her candidacy. This will require a knowledge of voter registration laws and deadlines, as well as a thorough knowledge of her district. (3) She must organize the troops for her party's nominating convention or primary election for an effective "get-out-the-vote" drive.

Once the Hispanic woman becomes the party's nominee, she can use the party's machinery or workers in her campaign to win the election. But first, to solidify her campaign, she should attempt to gain the support of those in the party who had opposed her nomination. She will need all the help she can get to conduct an effective door-to-door distribution of her campaign literature. She also will need many volunteers to register more sympathetic voters, research the issues, develop a media campaign, and get out the vote on election day.

But, even in victory, the Hispanic woman cannot relax. After her election, she will again encounter her male peers' expectation that she will fail. Again, she will have to work extra hard to prove that she is competent. But once she demonstrates her effectiveness, she probably will receive more attention than her male counterparts. From theirs and the general public's point of view, she will probably be regarded as "unique." But the more Hispanic women who are willing to run for office, work hard, and be successful politicians, the more "unique" women we will find in the policymaking bodies of our country. As Hispanic women become successful in politics, they should recognize that they need not be leaders only in the Latino or the Feminist Movements, but instead should take their rightful place as leaders of people. Only then will Hispanic women be able to contribute fully to our representative democracy.

In the final analysis, for this 200-year-old Nation to achieve the dream of its founders (who fought a revolution for that dream), our educational, economic, and political systems need to be reexamined to assure equal opportunity and participation by all elements of our society. To achieve this goal, special attention must be focused on those groups still submerged in the side currents, struggling to gain a place in the mainstream. One of the groups is that of the Hispanic woman. For too long she has been pushed aside, or even worse, ignored. Her unique educational and occupational needs must be addressed if she is ever to be able to exercise her democratic right of political participation in a representative democracy and to "develop freely to her fullest capacity in a cooperative community."

PUERTO RICAN WOMEN IN EDUCATION AND POTENTIAL IMPACT ON OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

Gladys Correa

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

I would like to focus this paper on a discussion of Puerto Rican women in leadership roles in education in New York City and their potential impact on occupational patterns in New York.

In my opinion, the operation of bilingual educational programs has provided more opportunities for the professional development of Puerto Rican women in New York than any program in the educational system of the English-dominant group.

In New York City there are currently approximately 50 bilingual women, mostly Puerto Rican, with administrative responsibilities for districtwide, citywide, or regional bilingual educational programs.[1] In the New York State education bilingual unit, the State coordinator and the supervisor for the New York City office are both Puerto Rican women.*

That Puerto Rican women are in charge of bilingual education units within the State and city departments of education is no minor achievement. When one analyzes the severely restricted role that women, especially Hispanic women, are forced to play in American education, it becomes apparent that bilingual education has made inroads into an area in which women have been relegated to minor roles. Moreover, this progress indicates the possibilities for Hispanic women to make important gains in educational and vocational attainment that previously have been denied them.

In spite of the progress, Hispanic women are still at the bottom in educational attainment. In higher education among Hispanic women in the United States, only 5.9 percent of the Mexican-Americans and 3.8 percent of the Puerto Ricans have completed 4 or more years of college. For Hispanic women in general, as of March 1974, "the average number of years of education was 9.7 years as compared to 12.3 years for the rest of the population."[2]

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*Since this writing, María Ramirez, then state coordinator of bilingual education, has been promoted to Asst. Commissioner for General Education, NYSED; the supervisor, Carmen Pérez, is now Chief, Bureau of Bilingual Education, NYSED; and a former principal, another Puerto Rican woman, is now Director of Bilingual Education in the New York City School District.

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There are numerous reasons for this lack of achievement. Most important, these findings demonstrate that Hispanic men and women are still part of a powerless minority. It is not surprising, then, that Hispanic women have difficulty gaining access to leadership positions in the educational system.

In general, women's involvement is minimal in institutions of higher education in the United States. According to the New York State Education publication Postsecondary Education in New York State:

> With the exception of women's colleges, relatively few women hold top administrative positions in the postsecondary system . . . the number of female students has grown and continues to grow but . . . women are still underrepresented at the faculty, and particularly administrative levels. Nationally, less than 5 percent of the presidencies of colleges and universities are held by women; 3.4 percent of these are in church-related institutions.
>
> At the university and college level, among the 486,221 higher education positions available in 1970, only 3,159 were occupied by Hispanic women, most of them classified as "fringe positions."[3]

The New York State bilingual education, the New York City bilingual central office, and other bilingual education programs throughout the city have many women in educational administration who are of Puerto Rican origin. Significant in the achievement of these women is that they are gaining startling upward and social mobility. These gains in social mobility for Puerto Rican and other Hispanic women are in danger of being lost unless steps are taken to ensure that these positions become institutionalized through city or State budget commitments. The importance of maintaining the gains is clear when we remind ourselves that, for most Puerto Ricans, the statistics concerning achievement are depressing. Research must pay careful attention to the strategies that are needed to move these Federally funded positions to the core of the educational system.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

In reading the U.S. Department of Labor report, "The New York Puerto Rican: Patterns of Work Experiences, Poverty Profiles," one is struck by the statistics that reflect the terrible conditions of Puerto Ricans living in poverty areas. When one lives in an area of this kind, or when one's family is still living in the city's poor neighborhoods, the statistics become people whom one knows.

The following illustrates the plight of Puerto Ricans today: "Puerto Ricans were the most deprived of all workers residing in the city's major poverty neighborhoods. They were far more likely than others to be unemployed or hold lower paying jobs."[4]

Moreover, in terms of education:

> Measured against what many employers today regard as a minimal standard of job qualification--graduation from high school—Puerto Rican workers reported less than a high school education. Only 25

percent of the men and 52 percent of the women had four years of high school or more (education), compared with 70 percent and 79 percent of the respective labor force between 18-34 years old.[5]

Inadequate education handicaps Puerto Rican workers in the competition for jobs and is associated with their unfavorable occupational distribution and high unemployment.[6]

There is no question that education (and the credentials that come with it, such as degrees and licenses) is still one of the most important ways to enter a variety of jobs in New York City and throughout the country.

Gaining access to key leadership positions in educational institutions is important if Hispanic women are to have an impact on planning new models of education, including career education models, that will change the education and work patterns for Puerto Ricans.

While bilingual education still has not become part of the core of the educational system, it has provided opportunities for leadership development in administration and supervision, as well as opportunities for field experiences in bringing about change in educational institutions. In higher education, as well as in the public schools, bilingual approaches to education have brought forth women with high potential who have been underutilized in positions of minimal impact on institutions. Bilingual programs also have brought into education the Spanish-dominant women whose professional competencies had been completely unused thus far. There is, indeed, a cadre of informed and sophisticated women in the educational system who are equipped to move into key positions in city, State, and Federal governments or positions in private industry.

Attention must be given to broadening career opportunities for women. There must be planning, based on research for career models that offer women training within occupational clusters, which will afford horizontal mobility. This approach certainly has interesting possibilities. An effort to establish a degree of human services, with horizontal mobility in mind, was attempted by the College of Human Services a few years ago, but was unsuccessful for many complex reasons, including the fear of professionals with traditional degrees.

DECISIONMAKING AND RESEARCH

The author of this paper contends that resistance to bringing bilingual education to the core of the system in New York City and other parts of the United States not only reflects a resistance to changes necessary to meet the needs of minority students (Puerto Rican, Italian, Greek, Chinese, Haitian, etc.), but also reflects resistance to accepting the professional equality of minority members of the institution—particularly women.

In New York City, top policy administrators apparently have had difficulty accepting Puerto Rican administrators—both men and women—as objective educational planners and policy makers who can assess the needs of all Hispanic students in the city. Yet these same people believe that a math, music, art, or foreign language administrator, or an administrator of any subject area who is an advocate of his or her discipline, can be objective when making policy decisions about the total curriculum. We must explore the self-serving implications of their views, which are quietly kept out of sight.

It appears that many of the research and educational decisions that have had a great impact on the educational and occupational goals of Puerto Rican community are made in a political context. K. B. Stuart, in the American Educational Research Journal, notes that: "Educational policy (therefore), would seem to rest on the pros and cons of social and political argument, and the power to implement educational policy rests with those who win political power."[7] He points out the need for comprehensive planning in educational research if it is to have an impact on policymaking:

> One criticism that must be levelled at much of current educational research is that by concentrating on immediate problems it makes it redundant as regards major policy. We criticize crisis government, or crisis management, whereby the executive staggers from one problem to another by a series of short-term expedient decisions—the band-aid approach. Yet is this not a weakness in our own field? Cannot we devote more time, an increasing proportion of our time, to looking at the problems . . . say five years ahead? In that time we would be able to conduct the experiments, develop the curricula, create the tests, undertake the necessary surveys, to provide the research data before the policy is finalized, and before decisions are taken. We spend too much time producing results that are no longer relevant. We should be using educational research to provide the factual climate within which policy decisions are made.[8]

His view concerning the dissemination of research is that it

> . . . must become known to key people in the decision process—the policy-makers; the administrators with executive authority; the publishers of educational texts, materials or equipment; the national and professional press; members of policy commissions; the innovators; school principals; as well as those training teachers (and counselors) both initially and recurrently.[9]

This elitist view of how research should be disseminated has existed for too long under the cover of the myth that social science research is value-free and value-neutral. The social scientist is supposed to be objective. "If science were just about the description of reality, there would be no dilemma."[10] The dilemma, however, derives from the awareness that "knowledge of man is not neutral in its import, it grants power over men as well."[11]

> Science as a descriptive enterprise implies science as prediction. Prediction may lead to greater control, and control of other humans is not only a scientific decision. Control of other humans is also a moral or ethical decision.[12]

Unquestionably, decisionmaking in both the research itself and the dissemination of research must be broadened to include representation of the racial, ethnic, and sex minorities, which are the subjects of much educational research. Unless research reaches teachers, paraprofessionals, parents, the community, and students, and the findings are understood in terms of the possible impact on these groups, there is a crucial ethnical question involved. Liebow, whose study, Tally's Corner, is well known, argues that:

> Studying exploited populations is one way for social scientists to achieve the goals of understanding and helping, for studies may not only contribute to the increased politicization and activism of particular persons and groups, but also these studies may help educate the larger society to its own destructiveness and to its own responsibility for things that, historically, it does not even want to look at or think about.[13]

Gideon Sjoberg explicitly analyzes the tension that he feels should exist between the social scientist and those who operate the administrative control centers of modern society.[14] "Social scientists," he writes, "must be committed to research that exposes even the most sensitive areas of a social system. Administrators, on the other hand, are committed to maintaining the system, gathering information that will aid them in this effort and staving off criticism that will threaten their own position." He adds that "researchers must segregate their own role definitions, and role activities from the policy and administrative needs of those in decision-making positions. Only in this way can they prevent themselves from becoming 'servants of power'."[15]

According to Myron Glazer, this is an extraordinary challenge in modern urban society.

> Administrators, in both the public and private sector, are constantly in need of information upon which to base their decisions, and are in a position to reward social scientists for their assistance. Social scientists struggling for recognition for their profession and themselves and wanting to help resolve social problems are vulnerable to pressures and to the lure of economic and prestigious rewards that are associated with access and service to decision-makers.[16]

Bilingual education has led many of us to a better understanding of the political process and to the power of legislation and the courts. We have become concerned with the need of Puerto Rican men and women to participate in the total political process. We have begun to examine the influence of lobbyists in Washington and Albany.

Many of us belong to the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, which has the political education of women as one of its primary aims. Women are encouraged not only to vote, but to become part of the political process and to run for political office. In the New York City chapter, the board of directors includes women in education, as well as women in various fields such as communications, media, fashion design, government, private industry, journalism, law, community relations, finance, and politics. Many of these women have credentials or competencies that have allowed them to have some influence on the Puerto Rican political community in New York.

However, as Gladys Rivera, president of the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women in New York City, points out:

> We may be the only one in our family, or in our circle of friends, who has achieved. The presence of our dismal educational and occupational attainment as a community is always there. We cannot afford social class divisions, or male-female divisions, at this time. We must work together for the benefit of the whole community.[17]

The political area is certainly one where both professionals and nonprofessionals can work in a united way.

It is of utmost importance that organizations such as the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, the Puerto Rican Educator's Association, and the National Association for Bilingual Education gain attention for funding purposes. It is only possible to maximize our efforts if we are staffed with full-time, paid professional and nonprofessional workers. Such organizations are fundamental to making gains in the political and economic arenas that many Hispanic women are entering today.

There is no question that economic gain is an important motivating factor for women entering the labor force.[18] Yet one must take into consideration that, generally, the work available to college-educated women is less challenging, utilizes their training to a lesser degree, offers little opportunity for work with abstractions or of a creative nature, and lowers socioeconomic prestige, as compared with that available to men with the same education.[19] For Puerto Rican women in New York, who suffer a double discrimination, one can imagine what work experiences can be.[20] We know that work can be full of violence and humiliations.[21] Nonetheless, many of our women have assumed leadership roles. The views of these Hispanic women are enlightening and provide a useful perspective on their achievement in spite of formidable obstacles.

INTERVIEWS WITH PUERTO RICAN WOMEN

Informal interviews with about 10 Puerto Rican women in administrative positions revealed that many had views similar to that of Carmen Del Sol, a coordinator of bilingual programs in a school located in "el barrio" (East Harlem). She admitted that economic gain was a factor in her decision to accept this leadership position. However, she noted a more important motivation.

> Bilingual-bicultural education has offered a great deal of meaning to my work. I feel that I have unique qualities and competencies to offer in the struggle for more effective educational and career planning. I can be creative in molding my program. I work not only with other administrators but with teachers, students, parents, and community agencies throughout the district. Another bonus is that I am working for a competent, exciting woman principal.[22]

Carmen Rodríguez, the only Puerto Rican woman district superintendent in New York, City, feels that she is having an impact on education, but asks, "Why does it have to cost so much?"[23] She has managed the precarious balance necessary to respond to the large Spanish-speaking population, as well as to other ethnic and racial groups in her district, and has survived in her position within the educational system. I believe what most impressed me was the invisible character of her creative contribution to education (conflict prevention and informal leadership development).

Shirley Muñoz of the Bilingual General Assistance Center of Columbia University expects no favors, but demands the respect, recognition, and rewards that she deserves for the quality of her work. She is disappointed that these are so difficult to obtain.[24]

These three women represent the kind of consciousness typical of many Puerto Rican women in leadership positions in New York City. This involvement may be intertwined with the history of Puerto Rico; women on the island have been very active in the history, politics, and literary world of Puerto Rico.[25] It is amazing for many to discover the impact that women have had on Puerto Rican life. Judith Nine, Director of TESOL at the University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras (a public institution), points out that there are four female deans who are making key decisions in education. Throughout Puerto Rico, one will find female mayors; in the legislature, we find senators and assemblywomen.[26] There is no question that there are some of us who feel that there are still problems with regard to sexism in Puerto Rico.[27] However, women have been strong and respected participants in island life.

> A historical perspective is important since . . . figuratively speaking, culture does not change from one day to another. The social structure indeed changes and the technology of a society can change rapidly depending upon the forces which impinge upon it. Human beings in their fundamental tendencies and in their psychological characteristics do not change so rapidly. People retain a cultural legacy which is difficult to change despite the continuous impact of a technological world in the process of rapid change . . . . It is well to remember that the cycle of life determines that the generations socialize with one another and that the cultural base of one generation does not disappear just because some part of its force has disappeared with the course of time. Although old cultural patterns may be restricted structurally, technologically, and economically by new cultural patterns, much of their original value persists.[28]

Yet Daniel Bell notes that: "A sense of historical time is absent from American thought, and a desire for 'instant' reform or 'instant' solutions is deeply ingrained in the American temper."[29]

Perhaps this may be one of the reasons why, in many cases, both in Puerto Rico and on the mainland:

> We have adopted and adapted models and patterns of development which are typical of and more applicable to the North American or Euro-Spanish child. Yet we know that the Puerto Rican child, although he shares developmental patterns commonly observed in all children of the world, he differs in various specific modes of development. For developmental norms are influenced by cultural, ethnic, geographic, and

historical variables. Therefore, the expectations in terms of the Puerto Rican child must be determined in the light of his cultural and historical background."[30]

The American educational system has been slow to broaden the base of information to include interdisciplinary approaches to the solution of educational and occupational issues and problems. This affects the culturally different child, as well as all other children, in making educational and occupational choices.

Frank C. Pratzner argues that the educational system has "set up a highly sophisticated, elaborate system of education in this country in order to meet the social maintenance role of education but has failed to give equal or adequate attention to the individual self-actualization of education." He then says:

> We have of necessity, done the things we were best able to do relying almost exclusively upon information and techniques derived from the field of psychology, because this was the most opportunistic thing to do. We rarely make good instructional use of the fact that most education takes place in a classroom or group context and that this context can often determine to a large extent educational approaches and learning outcomes . . . . Moreover, we continue, for the most part to inappropriately use notions derived from psychology to legitimatize the relative ranking and grading of student achievement . . . rather than emphasizing learning and achievement as a function of, and relative to, the social context in which it occurs.[31]

Concerns in bilingual education have led us to search for answers in education and career decisionmaking by utilizing this wider perspective. We are quite clear again of the political implications of that statement. Marietta Saravia Shore, director of the Bilingual Education Applied Research Unit at Hunter College of CUNY, raises the question of why education "is so dominated by psychology with the ideology of individualism rather than informed by anthropology and sociology, with their perspectives of education as a social institution which functions politically to maintain the status quo." She reminds us that "anthropology offers the perspective of the learning by cultural groups of behavior through socialization or enculturation via institutions other than the school; through the family, learning from peer groups and community sanction."[32]

Research is needed to study more carefully processes of learning inside and outside the educational institutions. We must begin to understand cultural as well as individual values underlying decisionmaking in educational and career choices if we are to develop workable comprehensive career education models.

RESEARCH NEEDS

I would like to identify at least six important areas of research needed to discover some of the significant cultural aspects, issues, or questions that affect Puerto Rican women in assuming their roles in the United States.

First, do rural values play an important part in the life of urbanized Puerto Rican women? Dr. J. J. Maunéz refers to the population movement from rural to urban areas as urbanism. He says, "Urbanism is not to be understood as the mere residence in towns and cities . . . rather as a way of thought and behavior which leads to a series of attitudes and value judgments."[33] He points out that the population movement from country to town has occurred at a dramatically accelerated rate in Puerto Rico. In a census conducted in 1899, 85 percent of the people lived in rural areas, while 15 percent lived in urban environments. By 1940, 58.1 percent of the population resided in the cities, while 41.9 percent resided in rural areas.[34]

Between 1840 and 1940 in the United States, the urban population increased from 10.8 percent to 56.5 percent of the total, and the proportion of the population living in cities of 100,000 or more increased from 3.0 percent to 28.9 percent.[35]

Apparently, rural values may still play a part in the life of urban women, whether they are Puerto Rican born or mainland born. Dr. Maunez writes: "Puerto Ricans coming from a social environment characterized by permanency and intimate contacts, and by close family relationships, have had to make multiple adjustments."[36]

It has been clear that, overall, we have not fared well. What part do these values play in important decisionmaking? Which are adaptive or maladaptive in urban living?

Studies of family systems are important. We know that in all societies the family system and the occupational system are closely related.[37] There is no question that family systems have been undergoing structural and functional changes. It is important to study these changes in light of the tremendous transformations in the roles of the Puerto Rican woman in her relationships with other family members and with persons outside the family. At this time of transition where there is a need for, and an openness to, the development of different models of family systems, we apparently must begin to study traditional and modern values and build models that are adaptive to urban lifestyles of Hispanic women and their families. Models that will allow greater mobility and more flexibility in decisionmaking in education and careers are needed, as are those who will allow for healthy resolution of adult developmental crises. We must not forget that even as adults we continue our psychosocial development. If we utilize Erikson's theory of the developmental process, we can identify three developmental stages in adult life: intimacy versus isolation, production versus stagnation, and integrity versus desperation.[38] In view of the rapid changes in the lives of Hispanic women and, in fact, in the lives of all women, these areas require further examination. How do cultural pressures, prejudices, and value conflicts affect women as they move to a resolution of these adult crises?

What are the problems and issues that have led some women to deviant behavior, crimes, or suicide? What are the trends and the underlying issues concerning Hispanic women? We can consider the observations of Dr. Antonio Martínez Monfort, who describes a pattern of behavior that still exists among Puerto Rican parents.

> . . . who give themselves up so completely to the care of the children that they forget the significance of a satisfactory marital relationship to the emotional development of the child. This tendency is observed more frequently with the Puerto Rican mother than with the Puerto Rican father. . . . He associates this with the concepts of the supermother.[39]

He also observes that while women may work in response to the family's temporary economic need, working often occurs in response to other, perhaps unconscious needs, such as the desire to get away from the tedious routine of the home or the wish to obtain recognition and gratification from professional activity.[40] Traditionally, these reasons tend not to be culturally acceptable, and many women find themselves unable to resolve their need for self-development. Perhaps there may be a need here for longitudinal studies of Puerto Rican women who have moved successfully into various careers.

Dr. Maunéz quotes from the book on urban society by Noel P. Gist and Sylvia Flies Fava. They identify changes in family organization that are commonly associated with urbanization and that may be important to review in relation to planning different family systems needed in our society today. These include:

- Changes in the power structure of the family that generally indicate a decline in authority of parents over children, and husbands over their wives.
- Changes in the interpersonal relationships between the sexes that result in greater freedom for both men and women to meet outside the home, to choose their own friends, and to select the person they would like to marry.
- Changes in the social function of the family members within and outside the home that tend to produce individualized behavior patterns in the family members. This individualization of lifestyles and purpose frequently disrupts the function of the family. The separation of labor functions performed by family members outside the home generally means a diversification of interests, which can result in a decline in family solidarity.
- Changes in the number of unmarried, divorced, or separated persons in the total population: unmarried or separated persons may not suffer an appreciable loss of status and may, at the same time, enjoy certain economic advantages because they are gainfully employed, but do not have the responsibility of supporting anyone.
- Changes in family structure, especially that change which is involved in the transition from the "extended family" to a smaller nuclear family. This smaller family unit may take a variety of structural and functional forms.

- Changes in the interpersonal contacts outside the home with the result that private friendships are made that tend to complement and, in some cases, to substitute for, intrafamily associations.

- Changes in the ceremonial basis of family life.[41]

These are some of the many areas of conflicting cultural values for the Puerto Rican woman and her family. In this transitional period, traditional systems continue to be emphasized, even while experimentation with different models continues.

Seda Bonilla introduced us to some of the important cultural themes in Puerto Rico.[42] Antonio T. Royo uses his work and that of other researchers in identifying these themes as respeto, confianza, verguenza, capacidad, and dignidad. He discusses these in detail and describes how children in the small town of Morovis internalize these themes through the socialization process.[43]

What place do these values have in urban living? These internalized values certainly can play an important role in the acceptance or rejection of the educational or occupational life which Puerto Rican women on the mainland may want to select or may find themselves.

Second, what effects do the traditional Puerto Rican homosocial rearing (girls with girls, boys with boys) and educational practices have on women's relationships to other women and women's relationships to men? Does this affect occupational choices?

Third, are there differences between the sex roles of men and women in the intimacy of their home versus in public? Is the Puerto Rican family male dominated or matriarchal? Do the same values hold on the mainland?

Efraín Hidalgo Sánchez expressed concern about a phenomenon that seems to appear along with the much talked about machismo phenomenon—that of "mother worship." In his opinion, Mother's Day is celebrated to extremes, and there appears to be excessive love and maternal pampering, especially of male children.[44] What lure does being a mother have? What are the underlying issues and problems underlying this phenomenon? How do these values affect education and career aspirations?

Fourth, in what other ways do cultural themes affect us? Do they, consciously or unconsciously, play a significant part in career choices? Do cultural themes affect us whether we have traditional or modern lifestyles or family attitudes? Moreover, are not some of these cultural themes in direct opposition to Banfield's view of the requirements needed to enter the political process as "influencers?"

Banfield, in his book, Political Influence, defines influence as the ability to get others to act, think, or feel as one intends. His description of the networks of influential persons involved in political decisionmaking and the many strategies that they use gives one cause for alarm. His examples demonstrate how rational approaches to problem solving can be used to distract the politically naive while the real decisionmaking goes on. He further states:

> To concert activity for any purpose . . . a more or less elaborate system of influence must be created: the appropriate people must be persuaded, deceived, coerced, inveigled, or otherwise induced to do what is required of them. Any cooperative activity may be viewed as a system of influence. This is as true of the cooperative activity called government as any other.[45]

Fifth, what effect does being part of a powerless community have on the women in that environment? Is there guilt in competing with men whose position in our society is not enviable and who very often do not control resources?

Finally, what are the questions concerning "too much success" with regard to opportunities for stable, intimate relationships (marriage?) with Puerto Rican or other men? For all of us, what are the questions of intimate relationships in urban living?

CONCLUSIONS

If Puerto Rican women on the island and on the mainland are truly going to unite with other women in our society to establish equity for women in education and in work, a conscious effort must be made to understand the differences as well as the common bonds between us.

We must shape a multicultural view of the Women's Movement in the United States. We must establish a communications network to sponsor each other for leadership positions or training experiences. We must learn to recognize and support programs that support and encourage leadership in women, e.g., bilingual education. We must help to fund women's organizations. We must carefully explore the values behind research and the impact of research on the lives of minorities. We must enter the research process, not only as researchers, but also as providers of funds to direct research. We must broaden the base of those who receive research findings and consult with minorities to make certain that there is an understanding of the potential significance of these findings. We must support comprehensive planning in research if we are to affect educational policymaking.

In addition, we must broaden the perspective of education by utilizing interdisciplinary social sciences information, techniques, and methodology. We must study traditional and emerging rural and urban cultural values to search for family systems that are satisfying to women, as well as to other members of the family, and that support conscious educational and career choices. In this transitional time of searching for new lifestyles and new educational and career possibilities, we must study the effect of pressures of rapid change on our adult psychosocial development.

Only in this way can we begin to make the kind of changes that will utilize the vast unused potential of minority women in the struggle for all women and that will lead us to varied and rich educational, as well as occupational, worlds. However, in order to achieve such change, decisions will have to be made in a political context, and this means that Hispanic women must understand the process of political decisionmaking, which as of now, has not been fully explored. Understanding the politics of education and occupational decisionmaking becomes a critical objective for us because we must become more involved in crucial decisions that have the potential for changing the system. We cannot afford to occupy ourselves in "decisionless" decisions that keep us busy, but do not change institutions. We must understand the mechanics of urban living, which is significantly shaped by urban politics.

An indicator of the educational system's commitment to us is the institutionalization of bilingual education. As long as bilingual education is kept on the fringe of the educational system, so will a significant number of the Puerto Rican men and women who have the potential to plan new models of education and careers and to have a positive impact on educational and career patterns of the Hispanic community.

NOTES

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[2] New York State Education Dept. (March/April 1976). Higher education's pyramid: women in higher education administration, Postsecondary Education in New York State (Albany: State Education Department), p. 1.

[3] Norma Varisco de García (May 1976). Education and the Spanish-speaking women: a reality, The Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education 1(1):38.

[4] U.S. Department of Labor (May 1971). The New York Puerto Rican: patterns of work experiences, poverty profiles, Regional Reports No. 4 (New York: U.S. Dept. of Labor), p. 1.

[5] Ibid., p. 2.

[6] Ibid., p. 3.

[7] K. B. Stuart (Summer 1975). Mirror, mirror . . . reality for the researcher, American Educational Research Journal 12(3):325.

[8] Ibid., p. 327.

[9] Ibid., p. 328.

[10] H.W. Smith (1975). Strategies of Social Research: The Methodological Imagination (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall), p. 1.

[11] Robert Friedricks (1970). A sociology of sociology. Quoted in Smith, op. cit.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[13] Myron Glazer (1972). *The Research Adventure: Promise and Problems of Field Work* (New York: Random House), p. 154.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 179-180.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

[16] Marlin Nicolaus (Spring 1969). The A.S.A. Convention, *Catalyst*. Quoted in Glazer. 1972. *op. cit.*

[17] Gladys Rivera (May 1976). Interview by Gladys Correa.

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[22] Carmen Del Sol (May 10, 1976). Interviewed by Gladys Correa, New York City.

[23] Carmen Rodríguez (May 15, 1976). Interviewed by Gladys Correa, New York City.

[24] Shirley Muñoz (May 21, 1976). Interviewed by Gladys Correa, New York City.

[25] Comisión Derechos Civiles del Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico (September, 1973). La igualdad de derechos y oportunidades de la mujer puertorriqueña, Parte VII. *Sinopsis Biográfico de Distinguidas Mujeres Puertorriqueñas.* (Comisión de Derechos Civiles), pp. 215-273.

[26] Judith Nine (May 1976). Interview by Gladys Correa, New York City.

[27] Celia Fernández Cintrón and Marcia Rivera Quintero (Summer 1974). Bases de la sociedad sexista en Puerto Rico, *Revista Interamericana* (Puerto Rico: Editorial de la Universidad Interamericana), pp. 239-245.

[28] Raúl A. Muñoz. Family structure and the development of the child, *Ecological and Cultural Factors Related to Emotional Disturbances in Puerto Rican Children and Youth*, pp. 80-81.

[29] Daniel Bell (Summer 1967). Toward the year 2000: work in progress, *Daedalus*, Vol. 29.

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[31] Frank C. Pratzner (1972). Career education, *Career Education: Perspective and Promise*. Edited by Goldhammer and Taylor (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co.), pp. 171-172.

[32] Marietta Saravia-Shore. *Research Needs in Bilingual Education*. Unpublished paper. By permission of the author.

[33] J. J. Maunez. The Puerto Rican community: its impact on the emotional development of children and youth, in Morán, pp. 129-130.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[35] Theodore Caplow (1954). *The Sociology of Work* (New York: McGraw-Hill), p. 19.

[36] Maunez, p. 131.

[37] Caplow, p. 2.

[38] Erik Erikson (1965). The psychoanalytic theory of Erik H. Erikson, *Three Theories of Child Development*. Edited by Henry W. Marer (New York: Harper and Row), pp. 64-67.

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THE CULT OF VIRGINITY

Frieda García

> Along with the ethical urge of each individual to affirm his subjective existence, there is also the temptation to forego liberty and become a thing.[1]

> The liberation of women should consist of the achievement of their total freedom—their inner freedom. It is not a matter of physical restriction which is placed on them to hold them back from certain activities. It is also the weight of previous tradition.[2]

INTRODUCTION

This paper is based on observations made in the Dominican Republic and in the Hispanic community of Boston. The latter community is comprised of predominantly rural and newly arrived Puerto Ricans. Both peoples share the cultural roots of Arabic and Jewish 15th-century Spain, the male-dominated tribal customs of western Africa, and the peacefulness and hospitality of the Taino Indians. The Dominican Republic is much more tradition bound than Puerto Rico or Cuba. In addition, this century has seen the influx of Lebanese and Southern Italian men to the Dominican Republic, and they bring with them values that reinforce the female subservient role and give credence to the strict codes of sexual behavior. Upon arriving in the Dominican Republic, there is a distinct sense that one has entered a harem.

A DEFINITION

The control of Hispanic women is maintained by a cult of virginity, which holds that a woman's only value is her virtue. The prescribed behavior set forth by this cult does not change with the physical penetration of the hymen. It continues in the manner in which the female is totally restricted in what she is allowed to wear, whether she can cut her hair (the Pentecostals believe a woman's hair is her veil; therefore, it cannot be cut), and in her movement outside of the home. In the cult of virginity, an ideal woman is one who goes from the care and protection of her parents' home to the care and protection of her husband. For example, in Puerto Rico there is pending legislation regarding the lack of rights of property, credit, and legal representation for a married woman.[3] A different example illustrates how this attitude cuts across class lines. In the Dominican Republic, I once had a maid who, because she was a virgin, had to be returned to her parents' home each time I was going to be away from the house overnight.

A woman's status in Hispanic society is determined by her sexual conduct. Roles and well-defined sexual stereotypes delineate individual conduct. The ideal is virginity at marriage and fidelity thereafter. A good woman respects this rule by

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concerning herself with household chores and the care of the family. The woman who violates the rules, especially if she has a series of husbands, is referred to as a *mujer libre*. This phrase does not reflect recognition of any personal liberation, but is indicative of social condemnation. On the other hand, men are expected to have sexual relations before marriage (a virgin husband is considered ridiculous) and are constantly encouraged, by other men, to have extramarital affairs.

There are, in fact, two sets of double standards in Hispanic society. On the one hand, there is the male/female standard based on the animalistic nature and uncontrollable characteristics of the male and the docility and childlike quality of the female. On the other hand, there is the double standard for judging women, i.e., the good woman who is allowed no deviation from the model and who, in a life dedicated to service and abnegation, achieves a kind of sainthood, which contrasts with the so-called *mujer libre* who, in fact, is not able to totally escape the model and suffers the added opprobrium of society.

This situation subjugates the Hispanic woman to a kind of role playing that guarantees that, in its most extreme form, she become a walking vegetable. Her body belongs first to her parents, then to her husband; neither must be dishonored by her behavior. This situation humiliates her, keeps her childlike and submissive, and lays the basis for very low self-esteem.

The cult of virginity begins at birth. In Puerto Rico, for example, the female child is called a *chancleta* (wornout scuff slipper), the perfect symbol for something whose only use and value is in the home, specifically in the kitchen, bathroom, and bedroom. *Chancletas*, unlike boots, were not meant for walking. A *chancleta* is kept for comfort but is ready to be discarded. In some cases, when a female is born, her parents express negative feelings of having the added responsibility of protecting and marrying her off.

The vagina of a baby girl is always covered no matter how poor her parents are. A male child will be allowed to urinate in the street; a female child will not. Everything—where she goes, how she sits, what games she plays—is restricted. The same admonitions may, to a certain extent, be true for the Anglo female child, but the emphasis is different. In the United States, disapproval of certain behavior in females is the result of her parents' not wishing to raise a tomboy, or her behavior is criticized as unladylike. In Hispanic culture, the thought is of the protection of the vagina. Any exposure of this part of the body is to remind the male that it is there.

EARLY TRAINING

As soon as possible, the real *chancleta* training begins with the female learning household duties. This process serves two purposes: household chores prepare the young girl for her life's work; the activities also restrict her to the home. By the time a girl is 10 or 11 years old and entering adolescence, she usually is cooking and washing for grown men, particularly if her mother is ill or unavailable.

> But she remembers life in Arecibo, Puerto Rico. She recalls doing all the housework chores while her three older brothers were free to come

> and go as they pleased. She says she always wondered why "if they were such machos as they claimed, she was the one doing all the heavy work."[4]

Education will frequently be sacrificed if the female child is needed for household duties. Schooling, in general, presents many conflicts for parents. In the United States, where exposure to the American culture and loss of tradition is greatly feared, there is added ambivalence. Since the female child only sees herself as a future housewife and cannot wait to embark on that role, studies are not given much importance. Such overprotection does not socialize her for independence and high aspirations.

> Even Cuba, 15 years after the revolution, is still working in the area of female over-protection. It is not only the attitudes of husbands towards their wives which the regime is trying to change, but also the attitudes of parents towards their children . . . the Literary Campaigns and other activities has [sic] threatened parents who did not want their daughters exposed to the dangers that lurk outside the home. The regime responded to this concern by having the women live together in groups in rural areas, rather than with the peasants as the men did.[5]

In the meantime, and in between the household training, the message of the cult is being reinforced. On their wedding night, women who are not virgins are returned in disgrace to their families. A bride must be able to wear white on her wedding day; she must be able to marry in a veil and crown. A mother tells her daughter after her first menstrual period that if she "does something" before getting married, her veil will fall off at the altar.[6]

The vagina becomes an estropajo (rag) if a woman sleeps with different men. She will bring disgrace on her family. Over and again, she is told in many different ways that virginity is all she has to offer.

No one will marry her if she is "used." This last admonition has more basis in reality than the thought that the veil will fall off at the altar. To enforce the cult, the male, too, has been subjected to a certain kind of brainwashing; he believes there are two kinds of women: la mujer buena y la mujer libre. If a woman sleeps with a man before marriage, she is capable of being unfaithful to him after marriage. She is not a good woman, or at least there is some doubt that she is. The mother of the male will bring additional pressure through references that she does not wish her son to get shoddy goods.

The earlier a woman marries, the less likely her virtue will be questioned. The parents are anxious to turn over their child to relieve themselves of the responsibility. The husband-to-be is desirous of having as untouched a product as possible. For the woman, the motivation to marry early is frequently to get away from the restrictive family. For example, this is how a researcher described the plight of a young Hispanic woman: "At 17 she decided she wanted more freedom, but fears and inhibitions left her little room for movement. Right after high school graduation, she escaped into marriage with a boy from the Puerto Rico hills."[7]

The noviazgo, or courtship, is usually a brief period when the woman is tested for submissiveness by the male. The woman's own sense of worthlessness turns this into a privilege. She is further excited by the idea of serving a man. For the first time, she experiences worth as she feels needed. This is accompanied by a sense of intimacy at the thought of that service taking place in a home with the two of them alone.

The male is, of course, particularly solicitous and protective during this time, since he is still in the process of taking possession. The novels of Corín Tellado and the soap operas—the most popular form of media exposure for Hispanic women—add romanticism and contribute heavily to the model of a submissive and martyred wife.

A woman's choice is usually limited since she is never free not to marry. There is such emphasis in the culture on marriage and having children that the possibility of getting a bad husband (one that gambles, drinks, or womanizes excessively) is merely considered bad luck, as in a lottery. Certainly, this is not sufficient reason to avoid marriage.

The Hispanic woman's psychic mutilation continues in marriage. The culture prescribes a role so subservient as to be nonessential. The wife is granted few, if any, desires of her own and is totally dependent on the male. He demands that she remains at home, and his demands are reinforced by the fears, instilled earlier, that the outside world, populated with other men, has great potential for evil. She is doomed to immorality, for to be moral means to have superhuman qualities. If she has a good husband and she feels dissatisfied, the guilt and psychic price paid for being ungrateful become heavy indeed. In some cases, the result is total immobilization.

> Carmen D. wears her shapeless, faded pink flannel nightgown like a uniform; an all-purpose garment that defines her days. She wears it while, as in a daze, she cleans her sparsely-furnished six-room public-housing apartment or as she tends to her eight young children. And at night she wears it while she sleeps with her head at the foot of her double bed. It has been more than five years since she slept side-by-side with her husband.
>
> It doesn't matter what the fawn-like Puerto Rican with pinned-up, stringy brown hair wears. She leaves her apartment only on occasion and at home nobody cares how she looks.
>
> At 34, Carmen takes Librium, a potent tranquilizer, for her nerves. She says the screech of a tire can make her cry uncontrollably. Raising her children, who are 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, and 14, is a task she says she is doing by herself. Although her husband, Manuel, a quiet man in his late 30's, comes home every night after work instead of going drinking with the other Puerto Rican men, she feels totally alone. She expects certain things from him but receives nothing.
>
> Her husband makes $84 a week working as a janitor at a community center run by nuns. She sees none of it. She does not dare ask Manuel what he does with his money; it is not her place to question her husband. When the family lived in the little mountain town of San Lorenzo,

> Puerto Rico, where Manuel worked in a cigar factory, it was the same story. She could not earn money and had no control over her husband's money. In fact, he was so insistent on controlling every penny that he did the weekly food shopping himself.
>
> . . . She is torn about leaving her husband. He is the father of her children. Living on mainland USA has not changed her life but it has changed her attitudes. Orphaned at 6, she remembers as a young girl wanting her own large family, which is almost the rule in Puerto Rican hill towns. But here she decided she did not want four or five more children and her doctor agreed, saying that her nerves would not tolerate more responsibility. Recently she had what she refers to as "La Operación" to make the decision permanent. To her surprise Manuel did not object.
>
> . . . Here the idea has occurred to her for the first time that perhaps she would like to leave the house and find a job.
>
> Carmen hasn't decided what to do yet. Centuries of tradition make almost unbearable the decision to tear apart the family structure. But Mrs. D. knows one thing. She doesn't want to go back to Puerto Rico. "A Puerto Rican woman can't depend on her husband. I started thinking that alone I could educate the children better and the government would help me and I'd be more tranquil," said Mrs. D.
>
> "If he goes I will stay."[8]

The structure of marriage is authoritarian and husband centered. The position of the woman is distinctly inferior, both socially and psychologically. For example, at Christmas, I visited a young couple in Dorchester. The wife served the meal. When I inquired if she were not going to join us, I was told she would eat later with the children. I was very conscious of the special treatment that I, a female, was being granted by being allowed to eat with the two males. I have observed this woman at a public function, completely unable to walk across the room to get some punch—I finally had to accompany her. Thus, as wife and mother, her world centers exclusively on providing services to her husband, rearing children, and, when there is time, interacting with her family. Toward her children she is expected to be warm and protective; toward her husband, she is deferential and submissive.

Where important decisions are concerned, the husband's judgment is dominant and final. Women, for the most part, accept this, perhaps because they lack alternatives or feel that they do, but also because they have been taught to believe that men are better equipped by character, intelligence, and experience to cope with important problems. Men have greater value in society. Obedience and avoiding confrontations that she cannot win will make the woman a slave. If she tries to reassert her liberty, she is walking the thin line between good and bad. She battles to preserve the very situation that dooms her to dependence—holding a husband and maintaining the material and moral security he provides. A husband regards none of his wife's good qualities as meritorious; they are guaranteed by society and implied by the institution of marriage.

Mothers teach their daughters como manejar al marido. Females are supposed to assume ignorance of sexual matters. A woman is not supposed to be llamativa (literally, attractive; figuratively, to draw attention to herself sexually) even with her husband (although, when I was growing up, I used to hear stories about women whose husbands only bought them negligees instead of street clothes).

MOTHERHOOD

Motherhood presents an interesting situation for the Hispanic woman, who is already completely bound to the home. Usually, it means a great deal more work, since she bears the total responsibility for the chores that come with each additional child. Motherhood represents distraction and the many occasions that force the woman to deal with the outside world.

Because the care of children is a woman's job, it represents responsibility over another human being--responsibility, however, that involves caretaking. It is one situation in which a woman is free to express love but she must follow any restrictions that the husband has mandated for the children's activities. Both mother and children are really children, and the woman's roles must get very confusing in the more severe cases. For example, while trying to get out the vote on primary day, a nun and I were giving door-to-door reminders. We found a young woman with two small children who expressed interest in going to vote; I volunteered to stay with the children while the sister, who knew the woman, accompanied her around the corner to the voting booth. Within minutes, they returned. The marido, who was standing outside with his friends, said she had to go back to the house to take care of the children. No amount of explanation would persuade him to let her vote. Later, I saw her and her 2-year-old son looking out the window, with the same expression on their faces, devoid of emotion, glazed eyes looking at the unattainable world—the sidewalk outside the apartment.

Motherhood represents a kind of status and is certainly the only area where respect is guaranteed. Your husband may parade his mistress in front of your house, but your grown sons may not dare smoke in your presence. This respect takes on religious overtones. You are empowered to give blessings to your children. La bendición is used as a greeting to one's mother or on leavetaking, particularly if one is going on a trip. As a child, you are taught that if you lift your hand to strike your mother, the hand will never come down, and the coffin cannot be closed when you die. There are other versions, I am sure. A man's relationship and concern with his mother have priority over those of his own family. She is the only woman who is completely honored with his respect. Ironically, men frequently say that they are trying to make up to their mothers for their past suffering, while they are repeating the behavior pattern of their fathers toward their own wife and children. If the mother has managed to lead a life of submissive abnegation devoid of sexual reference (other than having children), she does, in fact, achieve a kind of sainthood.

ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The role of the Church in reinforcing the ideal is worth noting. The Virgin Mother is, of course, the model for the cult of virginity. Though Pentecostals do not worship Mary, they demand Mary-like behavior from the female members of the Church. The other most popular symbols are the Sacred Heart and the Crucifixion, reminders of suffering and abnegation found in every Christian home. (Someone I know was given a gold crucifix and chain as a wedding present with the wish that her marital cross would be as light to bear as the one she received as a gift.) Also, Saint Joseph is the ideal father who did not even impregnate Mary; he only gave her his support and protected her honor.

More important, however, is how the Church, through its stance on birth control, reinforces the position that a woman's body is not her own. (In Boston recently, the Catholic priest in one of the Hispanic neighborhoods stormed into a community health center demanding that they cease giving out birth control information to his parishioners. One can imagine how much more irrational he must have been in the pulpit or in the confessional.) In addition, the Church actively condemns women who deviate from traditional mating through marriage. Susan Brown, in her study, Women and Their Mates: Coping with Poverty in the Dominican Republic, states:

> . . . as few as ten years ago the local priests during their sermons openly condemned by name the women who tended to switch mates with frequency. Calling them "free women" and "prostitutes," the priests exhorted community members to join in condemnation of these women. Any sexual union not sanctioned by the irrevocable Catholic marriage was publicly disgraced. Young women who formed free unions were also publicly denounced. In such cases the woman's parents and kin were, by mandate of the priests, ordered to cease communications of any female sexual relationships occurring outside the framework of the Catholic Church.[9]

In actuality, the role of una mujer libre is not very different from that of the "good woman." This is particularly true of consensual unions, many of which have the same characteristics of longevity and female fidelity as marriage. The mistress, particularly if she has children with the man, merely repeats the role of the wife. She can even claim some virtue and suffering from the fact that she would marry the man if she could. I would venture to say that even with the more enlightened college-educated people who are living together, the restraints inherent in the cult of virginity are there. I personally know of no Hispanic male-female union in which the woman is not practicing obvious subservient behavior by either limiting her movement or automatically negating her worldliness and sexual sophistication.

Virginia Abernethy, in her article, "Cultural Perspectives in the Impact of Women's Changing Roles on Psychiatry," writes:

> The deeply held ideas, values, or beliefs of our society inevitably represent reality for us . . . . Moreover, as long as we remain within a

> single stable culture our certainty of its assumptions is continually reinforced because culture is the shared contents of minds.[11]

It is evident that the villages of the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico are no longer isolated from the influences of women's changing role.[11] Of far greater impact, however, is the cultural shock experienced by the female who finds herself in this country carrying a backpack of tradition without the accompanying reinforcements of that society. Her exposure to an Anglo culture (although one in which the female role, too, is under attack) must create serious psychic problems—problems that increase worthlessness, constrict growth and development, and dictate patterned responses having no basis in reality.

Obviously, a more thorough look at the situation than this paper allows is necessary before one can arrive at definitive conclusions. Yet, even this brief glance indicates that these psychic elements could be major factors acting against the participation of Hispanic women in educational and occupational programs. One has to know what is within the person and what are the immobilizing agents before one can plan programs that attract this population.

NOTES

[1] Simone DeBeauvoir, 1968, The Second Sex, translated by H. M. Parshley, (New York: Bantam Books).

[2] Ché Guevara, 1968, Introduction to Venceremos: The Speeches and Writings of Ché Guevara, edited by John Gerassi (New York: Simon and Schuster).

[3] See the March/April 1975 issue of El Tacón de la Chancleta.

[4] Anne Kirchheimer, May 9, 1976, The Hispanic woman: confronting new roles in a new culture, Boston Globe.

[5] Jane S. Jaquette, May 1973, Women in revolutionary movements in Latin America, Journal of Marriage and the Family.

[6] Anne Kirchheimer, unpublished interview with Hispanic women in Boston.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Susan E. Brown, 1974, Women and Their Mates: Coping with Poverty in the Dominican Republic, unpublished doctoral thesis.

[10] Virginia Abernethy, Ph. D., June 1976, Cultural perspectives on the impact of women's changing role on psychiatry, The American Journal of Psychiatry.

[11] See Edwin Seda Bonilla. *Interaccion Social y Personalidad en una Comunidad de Puerto Rico*. Also Susan Brown, *Women and Their Mates: Coping with Poverty in the Dominican Republic*.

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LATINAS IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP:
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Elena Berezaluce Mulcahy
with acknowledgment to
Laurine Esperanza McNeilly

On July 1, 1976, in the State of Illinois, bilingual education was mandated, bringing to fruition the dreams and labors of many in the Latino community. On April 20 of this year, a House bill was introduced that, in effect, would nullify that mandate. When this bill appeared before the House Committee on Elementary and Secondary Education, members of the Chicago Latino community traveled to the State Capital to protest.

Those attending witnessed Latinas voicing their educational concerns. One of the first to arrive was Carmen Velásquez, a member of the Chicago Board of Education. The Latino Institute, under the direction of María Cerda, had mobilized more than three busloads of community and educational representatives. Ms. Velásquez instructed the trainers--mostly women from the Latino Institute--who, in turn, oriented the community people with regard to procedures. Mrs. Cerda and Ms. Velásquez conferred with a number of supporting representatives to finalize the plan of action for the session.

Legislators viewing the proceedings from their House seats seemed startled by the degree of coordination and activity preceding the discussion of the bill in the gallery. After a heated and harrowing debate, the bill was defeated. Bilingual education in Illinois would proceed as mandated.

Carmen Velásquez and María Cerda typify the kind of woman discussed in this paper--the Latina in the Chicago area who has emerged as an educational activist. What are her motivations, her attitudes and feelings, and her perceptions of self in relation to other movements for human liberation?

In this assessment of Latinas' activism in Chicago, the lack of identification with the Women's Movement must be noted. Surfacing primarily within the last decade, Latina activism has benefited, however, from the mainstream of the Women's Movement, as well as from the racially oriented Civil Rights Movement. Leadership by Latinas is directed toward the primary goal of the liberation of a people. While this paper will focus primarily on the Latina as an educational activist, it will also cross-reference Mujeres Latinas en Acción, a group that, although not dealing specifically with educational issues or needs, serves as a prototype of Latinas organized to deal with their own needs. This paper also will discuss a Hispanic women's conference recently held in Chicago and a women's program sponsored by Universidad Popular.

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A number of facts are provided in order to place these women in the context of the Latinos in the Chicago area. According to the 1970 census, Spanish-speaking people number 247,343 (7.9 percent) of the Chicago population, with a total population of 393,204 in Illinois and 849,616 in the Midwest. The Chicago metropolitan area had a Latino population increase of 110 percent from 1960 to 1970, and it is estimated that this population has been undercounted by 7.9 percent to 30 percent. Latinos in Chicago are almost equally divided between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, with a large representation from Cuba, Colombia, Guatemala, Perú, and many other countries of Latin America. Within these groups are subgroups defined by length of time in the Chicago area, degree of English language fluency, acculturation, and educational level.

Additionally, it is important to indicate that in relation to this larger Latino community, the power structure has been benignly neglectful, pursuing policies that have placed the Puerto Rican and Mexican communities in competition with each other for a slice of the pie. Traditionally, the two communities have been able to work together for their mutual benefit solelv in the area of education.

We have chosen to call ourselves "Latinos" in Chicago, not by accident, much to the dismay of our brothers and sisters in New York and the Southwest. While not suppressing our particular ethnicity, we must prove that we are coming of age in our ability to understand and use the system to our benefit.

The focus for participation has been the cause of bilingual education that has affected our community almost exclusively. While many of us would argue that we still have a long "row to hoe" before the precepts of equal educational opportunity are fulfilled, we must recognize where we have been, where we are now, and where we must go.

In 1969, the only program in bilingual education served, through Federal funds, a small group of children in one school. In 1971, the State began responding to this need by allocating $200,000. By 1974, there was $6 million in State funds, and a bill was passed in the State legislature that would mandate bilingual education in Illinois by July 1976. In fiscal 1976, $15 million was allocated statewide for bilingual education, making Illinois the State with the greatest commitment to bilingual education in the Nation.

What does all this have to do with leadership by Hispanic women in Illinois? It is quite important, since women have played major roles in recent history and will continue to do so. Why education? Why women?

The reasons that education has provided more opportunity for leadership by women are obvious. Because of its relationship to children, education traditionally has been accepted as a "woman's field," or at least one in which women were acceptable as professionals or paraprofessionals. The women are the "responsible" persons in the family, the ones who would most likely respond to matters pertaining to children. Hence, women do not feel alienated in this area. There is also less resistance from husbands when the reason for being away from the home is related to education. It was mentioned that more aggressive men tend to choose fields of work other than education, whereas women tend to prefer education because they are home when the children return from school. In more traditional/conservative homes, a career in education can become the "foot out the door" for women, especially for those who are fairly recent arrivals (within 5 years) and who are beginning to feel comfortable and ready to venture beyond the home.

UNIVERSIDAD POPULAR

Two years ago, an American nun, with the help of a few Lakeview neighborhood Latina organizers under the auspices of a Latino social service agency, began a Latin American women's program. Sister Mary envisioned a program of women's activities that included classes for sewing, knitting, and crocheting. The organization began with 40 to 45 Hispanic women, aged 30 to 45, who had arrived in the United States within the last 5 years, mostly from Puerto Rico. Participation increased rapidly, making expansion of the program necessary. Latina organizers saw the potential for more significant growth, with group efforts resulting in coordinated conferences and workshops on child development, examination for breast cancer, and parent-child communication. English classes also are provided. The organization, now grown to 120 members, provides tools for coping in an unfamiliar society.

These women are concerned with maintaining the support of the Latino men. Their activities are all within the framework of the traditional Latin American society and community. Activities and planning are open to men; husbands are encouraged to participate. A natural development resulting from these educational concerns would be activism within the local community and expansion into other issues, such as housing, employment, and politics.

MUJERES LATINAS EN ACCIÓN

Another group of women provides a contrast; Mujeres Latinas en Acción was organized 3 years ago by a few Chicanas in their twenties. This group is unique in our community because it is one of the first groups of Latinas organized to provide programs for other Latinas. The women had been working or living in the Pilsen community (the Mexican barrio) and had been affiliated with Latino social service agencies in professional capacities as organizers, caseworkers, or aides. These women possessed more education than members of the community they served, had been active in Latino issues outside Pilsen, and had acquired an awareness that Latinas, both U.S.- and Mexican-born, have special needs that are not being met by their families, the community, or social service agencies.

These women organized themselves, not to raise their consciousness as women or to fight for women's rights, but to provide direct social services to a neglected segment of the community—teenage girls. Specifically, Mujeres has provided referral and counseling services, rap groups, remedial reading, law education, cultural awareness classes, temporary housing for runaway girls, and recreational programs. All the services are geared toward helping teenage girls to cope more successfully in the community. Pilsen Latinas face the same pressures that many women face in economically depressed areas; however, the Latinas' problems differ in terms of degree and severity, with the added stress incurred through physical and emotional involvements in two cultures.

Recognition by other Latino groups recently has begun. Initially, vandalism and threats by neighborhood gangs, coupled with the men's refusal in Latino social service agencies to take the women's efforts seriously, were nearly overwhelming obstacles. Until this year, Mujeres had been funded only by donations and has been supported by a staff of male and female volunteers. Their difficulties, they feel, were, in part, due to lack of understanding by Latino groups and individuals for the unique personal needs that Latinas have.

Mujeres has taken great pains not to alienate men in the community. The group has encouraged men's involvement and participation at all levels of planning and activities except for the board itself. Although the objectives are to serve the needs of the Latina, she is viewed in a broader context--one which includes the meshing of her needs and those of all members of the community. The directions of the Mujeres and Universidad organizations are clearly divergent, but both provide essential services and greater awareness of self and personal potential through learning and growth.

The point here is the range of valid approaches that may exist and the need to expand the types of services that will benefit women and, by extension, the community. Every effort must be made to be cognizant of the many levels in which we find ourselves in terms of self-awareness, economics, education, language, etc.

Perhaps this is where our perception of the Women's Movement and its goals may differ from those goals of Latinas in leadership positions. We perceive the Women's Movement as consciousness-raising that will lead women to a greater fulfillment in all aspects of life. Latinas see the consciousness raising of the Latino community as the ultimate goal. We are not as interested in our identities as women as much as we are in our identities as Latinas or Latinos in support of positive change in our communities.

CHICAGO'S LATINA CONFERENCE

There have been other expressions of Latina activism. On May 22, 1976, the Latino Institute (an agency dedicated to the development of leadership and resources in the Latino community), in collaboration with five other organizations and with financial assistance from The American Issues Forum, sponsored a conference on the roles of Latinas in American society. Prior to the conference, a planning group consisting of 1 Latino and 16 Latinas from various communities and occupational levels met to decide on general topics and possible panelists.

Panelists, moderators, and the approximately 100 participants were almost all Latinas who ranged in age from 20 to 30. The majority were employed, married, and had children. Although workshops were conducted in Spanish, English, and mixtures of the two languages, the participants were primarily "English-dominant speakers." The few Anglos who attended were women in their late twenties; no individuals from other minority groups attended.

Generally, the participants either were born on the mainland of the United States or have resided here for at least 10 years. They were invited by Latino agencies, by parents participating in leadership classes, and by way of names of men and women submitted by conference organizers.

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Dr. Rafaela Elizondo de Weffer, a psychologist with a history of activism (probilingual education and community participation) at the university level, was invited to be the keynote speaker. In her topic, "The Values and the Roles of the Latina Woman in This Society," Dr. Weffer articulated the stereotyping by sex that men and women experience, thus revealing to the participants a greater understanding of their own feelings and the restrictions they have placed upon themselves. She stressed the practical ways in which mothers can alter these patterns for their children. Brief descriptions of the workshops follow.

The Image of the Woman as Portrayed by the Media--The panelists, two men and one woman, were all involved in media jobs. The focus of the workshop was the need for greater representation within various areas of the field. In an attempt to plan for more involvement, the panelists urged women to consider media careers.

Crimes Committed Against Women--This workshop addressed the issues of rape and sterilization abuse. This workshop developed a resolution, adopted in the plenary session, to condemn the abuse of sterilization of Puerto Rican women.

The Female Adolescent—Three young Chicanas established an experimental workshop on the Latina adolescent that was attended by 25 individuals grouped into five teams: 10 Latina teens who spoke English exclusively; 5 Latinas in their early thirties who spoke Spanish exclusively; 7 bilingual Latinas from 20 to 40 years of age; and 3 young Latino men. The groups focused on values in traditional Latino sexual double standards, Latina sexual needs, aggression, individualism, exploitation, and goal attainment.

The groups were assigned to listen to a story and rank the characters according to the degree to which they liked them. The exercise was to press the groups to look at their own value system and to see what differences and similarities could be found. During the discussion that followed, the groups, except those who spoke Spanish exclusively and the seven bilingual Latinas, found glaring differences in their ranking of values. These groups were similar in age, although their length of stay in the United States differed. The two teen groups' rankings differed markedly from each other and from those of the men.

In the context of the conference, it is difficult to analyze the results of this exercise with accuracy. Additional research could explore the extent to which values were influenced by sex, ethnicity, age, and degree of acculturation; this may be a tool for examining similarities that exist between Latinos and other groups in America.

Community and Political Involvement--ERA--Panelists in the community and political involvement workshop were Rhea Mójica Hamer, a member of the National Women's Political Caucus; Meca Sorrentini, a member of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico; Virginia Martínez, lawyer; and Ramona Biddings, community activist from Indiana. This session was particularly well attended.

Hamer's presentation urged Latinos and Latinas to become involved in the political process. She also gave the history of ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) and, with Virginia Martínez, explained the details of the amendment and its implications.

Sorrentini espoused the theme that women should be part of an effort to form a new society that will be the instrument of the ultimate liberation of women—a vanguard of conscience to change the attitudes that impede self-determination.

Biddings told the success story of a Latino organization, composed mainly of women, that had confronted city officials and brought about many positive changes.

This workshop presented to the entire session a resolution, which was passed unanimously, in support of ERA. They also presented a resolution to support freedom for Lolita Lebrón, a Puerto Rican nationalist in prison for 20 years for her part in an attack on President Truman.

The Social Roles of Women—This was an extremely well-attended workshop. The panelists were professor Alberto Mata, sociologist; Samuel Soler, director of La Universidad Popular; and Andreita Ramos, a parent from a bilingual education advisory board.

Mata touched on the theme of alienation. He examined the differences between folk systems and present reality, with one positive response being early intervention, probably by the mother, who is most likely to affect behavior patterns.

Soler said that the liberation of women cannot occur without the liberation of men. He saw classes in sewing and cooking as a starting point for a more active role in society for women, and thus leading to classes in social issues.

Ramos represented the traditional image of wife and mother, and her talk idealized motherhood. She extolled her own mother, her personal contributions and sacrifices, and the accomplishments of her children. There were few questions or commentaries with regard to Ramos' presentation. Clearly, this point of view deserves a place in the context of Latinas, but was not of interest to the conference participants.

Discussions held after the presentations concerned the image of women and the difficulties in asking ourselves crucial questions regarding our desires, in understanding our behavior, and ultimately, in asking how change occurs. In this group, there were expectations of answers to problems women were experiencing in their daily lives; however, time did not allow for further exploration of issues.

Reflecting on the conference, I would like to make some additional observations. First, for the most part, the organizers and participants were involving themselves in a "women's conference" for the first time. Second, almost all the organizers and participants were active in some form of community involvement, but not in the Women's Movement as it is known in the Anglo world. Third, there was almost no representation of the "traditional Latina;" those who are "in the kitchen" stayed there. There was a clear desire to be supportive of ERA, although there was only a vague and rudimentary knowledge of its workings and implications. In the planning sessions, one of the more difficult tasks was finding a Latina who could give an explanation of ERA.

Clearly, we understood our daily problems and were seeking solutions, but the disparity of expectations and of the various levels of understanding made for disjointed approaches that were not resolved. Panelists and participants tried to focus on the subject of women, but invariably turned to issues in the community. Participants did, however, request followup by the Latino Institute.

In my estimation, the theme of this paper is vividly supported by the fact that while the conference was regarded as a valid and worthwhile undertaking that would have positive ramifications, it occurred because of a grant from The American Issues Forum. The conference would not otherwise have happened in Chicago this year.

CONVERSATIONS

Returning to the theme of leadership, this section will cover observations based on conversations with 17 Latinas who have provided leadership in education. I had known all of the women prior to writing this paper. Generally, they all know one another since there exists an informal network of communication that traverses the city. These women are from extremely diverse backgrounds, are of different ethnic groups within the Spanish-speaking world, and are of every skin color and educational background. They are married, single, divorced, and separated, and have 40 children among them. The majority of the women are from 30 to 40 years old.

There is a high degree of trust and understanding of our common goals that made for a comfortable level of interaction. Perhaps it has to do with the number of years that we have been active—many since the mid-sixties. I believe it also has to do with being bicultural, not biculturality as it is commonly thought of (i.e., that of an intimate experience with Latin America). "Biculture" also reflects an understanding of the power structure in this society. All of the women interviewed were either born here or have been in the mainland United States for at least 15 years. Obviously, there is a connection between English language fluency, ability to understand Anglo power structures, and greater utilization of potential for leadership. The questions asked were: What effect has the Women's Movement had on you? What effect has it had on Latinas in general? What were the elements in your life that made you an activist? What are the effects on your children and husbands? What kinds of benefits for Latinas could be derived from the Women's Movement? Do you see yourself as becoming involved in the Women's Movement? Have you considered a relationship between your activism and the Women's Movement?

Before addressing the contents of the conversations, I would like to provide you with an intimate picture of some of the individuals to whom I am referring when I speak about leadership and activism within the context of this paper.

María Cerda was born and raised in Puerto Rico and served 5 years as a member of the Chicago Board of Education. She was the first Latina in the board's history and its youngest member. Her years on the board parallel the growth of bilingual education. Without denying the contributions of others, one can say that without her presence, bilingual education would not be where it is today. María is now the executive director of the Latino Institute.

Carmen Velásquez, a Chicana, is currently a member of the Chicago Board of Education. She has been the backbone of the Spanish-Speaking Study Commission, the group that pushed the State of Illinois into its first monetary commitment to bilingual education.

It was the tenacity of Mary González and Raquel Guerrero, two women living in the Pilsen neighborhood, that made the building of the Benito Juárez High School possible. These women are convening the Pilsen Community Conference in which community organizations will meet to plan strategies for the community.

Trina Dávila, a woman in her sixties, took in washing and ironing in Puerto Rico before coming to Chicago in 1960. Her voice has been constant over the years, encouraging parent participation, and demanding reform and excellence in the system. She has been part of the parent councils in her grandchildren's schools and a member of the State Advisory Council on Bilingual-Bicultural Education.

María Medina Swanson was born in Puerto Rico, was raised in Europe, and is currently director of the Bilingual Education Service Center of Illinois, and president-elect of the National Association of Bilingual Educators.

Hilda [illegible]ontany is a Puerto Rican community organizer for the Latino Institute. She has had citywide impact in the areas of education and housing through the Lakeview Latin American Coalition Organization, which she directed.

Carmen Chico, a Chicana, did not have a high school education at the time of her marriage. Her first involvement was with the local PTA. Carmen went back to school, became a teacher's aide, and 2 years ago became a teacher. She also has run for office as ward committee member and State representative and has been a delegate to the national convention.

The Latinas that were interviewed fall into two main groups. The first are those who are perceived by the establishment as having a certain amount of legitimacy by virtue of their jobs: two university professors, two directors of departments, a member of the Chicago Board of Education, and a former member of the Chicago Board. These women have academic credentials and would have been expected to succeed with or without a Civil Rights Movement, Chicano Movement, Women's Movement, etc. These are women whose expectations of themselves since childhood included careers as well as roles as wives and mothers. All have opted for defining their priorities within the educational needs of the Spanish-speaking community.

The second group of women interviewed are those who have emerged as leaders in the neighborhoods. They generally have, at best, high school educations, and although they are not professionals, they are expected to provide leadership in their communities. These women generally realized their potential as a result of crisis situations and responded beyond their own expectations. With two exceptions, these women are employed, but not necessarily in jobs that create policy in education. They are, however, members of school councils, teachers, teachers' aides, and employees of local neighborhood organizations. Although their views of themselves may have included the expectation of working, as well as being wives and mothers, their jobs would not have been "careers," but rather a matter of economic survival.

All the women were rather surprised at the nature of my questions. Only one or two had ever reflected on the overwhelming majority of women in educational leadership, but were quick to concur that this would be best left unpublicized so as not to cause men undue concern. All were eager to respond to the questions, partly because no one had ever interviewed them on that particular topic. All pointed out the development of educational concerns as ones to which women naturally relate through their children and the traditional role of mother as teacher. All saw themselves as better suited than men to become active in this area because of qualities ascribed to women: flexibility, survival instincts, managerial skills, and availability both by location (men leave the community to work) and time. Mothers of young children feel free to take them to community meetings. Women also tend to have less of an economic risk than men; they can afford to be more aggressive and outspoken with less risk of economic reprisal since husbands are usually employed outside the area of concern.

The women, without exception, felt that the Women's Movement had had a beneficial impact on Latinas. Most women have benefited mainly from better legal safeguards, especially women who were single, widowed, divorced, or separated. Beyond that, all felt that some level of awareness had touched them with regard to their own potential in areas of employment not previously considered.

Those with children were thinking also of more alternatives for their daughters. One woman (mother of nine) placed great emphasis on the fact that the Women's Movement would help provide her sons with a greater understanding and appreciation of the potential of all women. All reflected on the psychological support that they derived from the knowledge that the Women's Movement was underway. I should mention that only one of these women had spent any time involved in a "women's organization."

All the women felt that their personal priorities precluded the use of their time and energies in the Women's Movement, and they did not see any change in personal priorities in the future. The women felt that, while it was useful that some women (mainly perceived to be white middle and upper class) were "doing something," they could not divert time from community issues. However, within their circle of friends and family, girls are being actively encouraged to broaden their alternatives. Note, however, that I am not reporting about the community at large, but rather about women who have achieved prominence through their leadership abilities.

Without exception, these women understood the Women's Movement in the context of beneficial legal protection and support, and none responded or alluded to some of the more sensational aspects that have received attention. All were supporters in theory of ERA, but none were particularly knowledgeable about the specifics or cognizant of the legal status of the amendment nationwide.

While all these positive aspects of the movement were recognized, the majority of the women stated that their priorities with regard to jobs and communities were extensions of their commitment to equality and equal protection for Latinos. On many occasions the thought was expressed that our oppressors are not Latino men, but Anglo society, and as Latinos we have to achieve equality as a people before we can devote time to other issues. (While this may be true of women who have achieved some recognition and prominence, it is also true that large numbers of Latinas who are at home are there because of attitudes of Latino men.) One cannot, they felt, afford a separation of the sexes--the drawing of lines that have no particular meaning in the face of such overwhelming obstacles confronting Latinos of both sexes.

In examining the dominant role of women in leadership, we cannot ignore an obvious fact. When examining married women in leadership positions, we are looking at the only partner who is an activist. A comparable situation is evident with men who are active--their wives are not. The same is true for activists of either sex who are married to Anglos. I am not sure of the particular impact of this observation, but I report it, nevertheless, as a marked characteristic of the Latino environment in Chicago.

I feel it is necessary to recognize the points of articulation that bind us together. In our experience, it is necessary to stress the uniqueness of the Latino community, the strength of our heritage, the value of our traditions, and the beauty of our language. All of these examples have been necessary to build solidarity and pride in a community subjected to discrimination and abuse. I feel, however, that sometimes the building up of ourselves as being wonderful and unique tends to alienate us from the rest of society in ways that are hurtful and counterproductive. Because we are not so far away in terms of needs, other groups should not see us as so different that we are unreachable. Let common sense prevail.

A balance must be reached. While it is emphatically true that we do have significant differences with the Women's Movement, we also have very special similarities. If we were to isolate those traits in Latin society that are viewed as repressing women's potential, we would list males as being dominant in terms of law and employment, and females as being weak--to be protected and kept home to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers, receiving unequal education, etc. The point is that the list would appear to contain the same elements that occur in the United States, or, for that matter, in most countries in the Western world. It is, of course, a matter of degree, with many excesses existing that reflect a society historically more traditional and that has had greater division between male and female roles; however, the situation differs very little in terms of the issues.

I caution against the kind of mentality that either excludes us because we are "so different" or says "tell us what you want so we can give it to you." There may be many similarities and points of mutual concern between us and the Women's Movement. I hope that the lines of communication between the Women's Movement and Latinas will reveal areas of mutual strengths and obvious support.

As a result of the Chicago experience, what are the questions that might be addressed by the National Institute of Education or by groups in the Women's Movement? Obviously, there are a great deal of data not supplied because they do not exist. What has been done to document whether the tendency to view Latinas as "desirable objects" for boards, etc., has had any effect on employment of Latinas throughout the ranks?

A recurring theme among the many women interviewed was tension over marital conflicts and concern over the possible detrimental effects on their children as a result of their being away from home. The fear is best characterized by the saying, "Candil de la calle, obscuridad en su casa" (Light in the street means darkness in the home).

The conflict is one of feeling and being responsible for the internal welfare of the family and also channeling energy to resolve problems outside the home. I believe that I speak for many in saying that we are not interested in giving up that responsibility. We enjoy our role as wives and mothers. Our activism is not to be interpreted as anti-home, but rather is to be viewed as our desire to have the best of two worlds--our traditional roles and fulfillment of our potential outside the home.

In answering the question "How can the Women's Movement reach us in the future?" the women spoke of more beneficial legislation and educational opportunity. However, one exceptionally articulate and informed Latina stated explicitly that the Latinas' tremendous talent and potential barely have been tapped and that the leadership of the Women's Movement must begin facilitating the development of skills to provide the Latina with broad and discrete alternatives that will take her out of the kitchen, if she so wishes. The Women's Movement could certainly take the extra step and become supportive of Hispanic women's activism. We need women to take the leadership in developing programs to enhance our potential.

What will the Women's Movement do to reach across its own barriers--a leadership that does not communicate effectively across ethnic and economic lines? Do not ask us to join just now, but invite us to partake of what you have to offer. Find the way to build the bridges, to increase the dialogue, and to give us access.

PARTICIPANTS AT THE CHICAGO MEETING

Samuel Betances, Ph. D., professor of sociology, Northwestern University.

María Cerda, executive director, Latino Institute.

Carmen Chico, teacher, Chicago Public Schools.

Trina Dávila, member, Hawthorne Bilingual School Council, Illinois Bilingual Advisory Council.

Hilda Frontany, community organizer, Latino Institute.

Mary González, director race relations, Ada S. McKinley Community Center.

Raquel Guerrero, commissioner, Human Relations, City of Chicago.

María Heinz, community organizer, Latino Institute.

Irma Kraimer, drug abuse counselor, Chicago Board of Education.

Isidro Lucas, Ph. D., consultant, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Region V.

María Martínez, organizer, Mujeres Latinas en Acción.

María Medina Swanson, director, Bilingual Education Service Center.

Guadalupe McDougald, personnel counselor, Chicago Board of Education.

Catalina Navarro, program aide, Illinois Office of Education.

Luz María Prieto, director, Chicano Mental Health Program.

Emperatriz Pumarejo, social worker, Evanston School System.

Pastora San Juan Cafferty, Ph. D., assistant professor, University of Chicago.

Samuel Soler, director, Universidad Popular.

Domingo Tobías, consultant, Illinois Office of Education.

Carmen Velásquez, member, Chicago Board of Education.

Rafaela de Weffer, Ph. D., university professor, Governors State University.

PUERTO RICAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Josephine Nieves and Margaret Martínez

In addressing the subject of Puerto Rican women in higher education, it is necessary to relate the condition of Puerto Rican women to that of the Puerto Rican community as a whole. Puerto Rican women, like black and Chicana women, are affected by discrimination against their group, as well as by discrimination against their sex. Moreover, many of the problems faced by minority women are aggravated by the exploitation of minority male heads of households and the overwhelming effects of poverty resulting from that exploitation. The status of minority women, therefore, cannot be separated from the problems confronted by their community as a whole. It is only in that context that the particular, albeit more severe, problems of Puerto Rican women in the United States can be understood and addressed.

Socioeconomic data for the Puerto Rican community show a severely depressed group for which advanced training opportunities become essential for economic survival. The virtual exclusion of Puerto Ricans from access to higher education has had serious consequences for present, as well as past, generations. This exclusion continues to solidify a social structure that preserves privilege and maintains a separation of classes. In all likelihood, future generations of Puerto Ricans will remain extremely depressed, even more so than other minorities.

The "liberal" era of the late 1960's and early 1970's led to an opening up of the university to minorities and women through national policies promoting equal opportunity. However, recent policies of retrenchment imposed by universities, with accompanying reductions in Federal and local financial aid to students, have served to wipe out the minimal gains made in that brief period by Puerto Ricans.

An example is the experience of Puerto Ricans in the City University of New York (CUNY), the single most important university for Puerto Ricans outside of Puerto Rico. We estimate that over 70 percent of all Puerto Rican college students in the continental United States attend CUNY, the overwhelming majority from poor and working-class families.[1] For 5 years an open admissions policy offered a tuition-free college education to all New York City high school graduates and increased Puerto Rican student enrollment from 4.8 percent in 1970 to 7.4 percent in 1974. The abolition of open admissions, a newly imposed tuition requirement, and general insecurities caused by cutbacks are expected to reduce by at least one-third, and probably one-half, the number of Puerto Ricans and other minorities entering CUNY in September 1976.[2]

Estimates based on an April 1976 report of the New York State Education Department, Bureau of Postsecondary Planning (The Impact of the Restructuring of CUNY on Minority Enrollment), show a drastic reduction of 51 percent in allocation of students from Puerto Rican neighborhoods to CUNY senior colleges for fall 1976. The actual number of Puerto Ricans who will enter cannot be determined until after September 1976. The impact of tuition and other retrenchment policies not accounted for in the report is impossible to determine at present, but the number of Puerto Ricans expected to enter CUNY will be reduced further.

The impact of this reduction on the number of Puerto Ricans who would be eligible for graduate schools and who could then enter professional and technical positions is only too evident. We can anticipate, at best, a continuously low 4 percent of all Puerto Ricans in professional and technical positions or, at worst, a decline in that percentage.[3]

A well-established, generally acknowledged pattern of discrimination in the hiring and promotion of all women affects Puerto Rican women to a greater degree. A minuscule number of Puerto Rican women hold faculty positions in colleges and universities in the United States—6 percent for Spanish-speaking women as a whole in 1970.[4] In CUNY, there were only 124 Puerto Rican women in faculty positions in 1973 (more than half without professorial rank), in a total female faculty of approximately 6,541 and a total faculty of 18,865.[5] Before 1970, the first year of open admissions, Puerto Rican women in faculty positions in CUNY were almost nonexistent. Current retrenchment policies here, too, will take a heavy toll on Puerto Ricans, particularly women. The dismissal of instructional staff for the fall of 1976 has already been 50 percent greater for blacks and Puerto Ricans than for the rest of the faculty, and proportionately worse for minority women, who are fewer in number than the minority male faculty.[6]

The future seems dismal for Puerto Rican women as students and as faculty in institutions of higher education; consequently, the likelihood of any increase in the percentage of Puerto Rican women entering the professional and technical categories of employment seems nil.

IMPORTANCE OF ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Access to higher education and the significance of college training and credentials in this economic crisis-ridden era of the 1970's are among the most important issues facing Puerto Rican and other poor or working-class communities. At stake is some measure of economic stability, movement out of a poverty cycle, and the ability to secure employment or to compete effectively for scarce jobs. More long-range effects of limited access to higher education, and the resultant reduced earning capabilities, are the sociopsychological problems accompanying prolonged economic deprivation when passed on to succeeding generations.

As colleges and universities throughout the country experience the effects of inflation and drastic reductions in income, they have instituted policies of retrenchment that seriously curtail previously adopted outreach programs and scholarship support for poor and minority students. Reductions in student aid and fellowships from private foundations and Federal and State sources make access to higher education increasingly difficult for precisely those groups that most need it.

Although not necessarily a springboard for upward mobility, education has traditionally presented the most accessible avenue toward economic security and a realistic possibility for improved social status for minorities and the poor. However, in today's competitive job market, even that possibility is becoming remote. Advanced training and college credentials have become less a means for social advancement and more a tool for economic survival—much as a high school diploma in past decades functioned as a screening device for selection among a surplus of job applicants, regardless of its inadequacy in measuring ability to perform the work.

In addition, the trend toward mass higher education and the proliferation of 2-year colleges providing postsecondary education (largely career training) have increased the pool of trained workers. This has made specialized training in an increasingly technological society almost essential for employment. Local industries and commercial establishments have, in a sense, used public and private colleges and universities as vocational training centers and a source for needed skilled workers. Higher educational institutions have long shown concern for meeting the needs of the business community. In urban areas where community colleges have been created, one often finds 2-year terms operating at public expense for training students to fill particular jobs in local industrial or service institutions. University policies dictating the tracking of minority students into those programs and away from alternatives such as preprofessional programs essentially respond to the demands of local industrial, commercial, and governmental establishments rather than to the career needs and aspirations of students.

In the 1968 CUNY Master Plan, which preceded open admissions, CUNY projected the changes in occupational needs in New York City and the growing number of unskilled laborers among blacks and Puerto Ricans in the face of an exodus of middle class whites from the city:

> Between now and 1975, job vacancies will be highest in those very categories—professional, managerial, technical, clerical—in which minority group members are now underrepresented. Yet the largest increase in the resident work force will be among members of minority groups. The result is a growing and potentially explosive unemployment problem existing side by side with a large number of legitimate and urgent vacancies. The unbalance between need and available skills must be resolved if the urban economy is to have a viable future.[7]

The primary means of accomplishing this was through the expansion of community college programs. For example, Hostos Community College was established in 1972 to offer training in the health services and to attract the largely Spanish-speaking residents of the South Bronx community in which it was located.

Even when community colleges are used as a form of segregated tracking or as a substitute for equal access to 4-year colleges, they are critically important to minority groups. These groups have more difficulty, even under normal circumstances, competing for jobs while having less education than the general population. Exclusion from community colleges, or the limitations on access now being imposed by retrenchment policies, will further limit minority students' employment opportunities.

Higher education for Puerto Ricans assumes even greater significance when one considers that, despite educational achievement and even with comparable years of advanced education, Puerto Ricans earn far less than the rest of the population. A July 1975 report published by the U.S. Department of Labor with regard to Puerto Rican New Yorkers shows that "while their income increased with level of education, Puerto Rican males with a college degree have an income slightly more than a high school graduate in the total population."[8] The figures are $14,392 for all male college graduates and $10,389 for Puerto Rican male college graduates. Puerto Rican females have incomes comparable to other women in the population, all of whom have incomes far below the median for males. According to the report:

> When 1969 income is compared by education for persons in their peak income years, taking both age and income into account, the median income for all males with high school and/or college education is 70 percent higher than the median for Puerto Ricans of this age and education level.[9]

The question of higher educational opportunity for Puerto Ricans signifies not so much an opportunity for upward mobility as a defense against further regression in economic status. Even with high educational achievements, the income of Puerto Ricans continues to lag behind the rest of the population.

The relationship between education and employment shows that Puerto Ricans, who have far less education than the rest of the population, run a higher risk of unemployment. The same Department of Labor report found that:

> Labor participation rises with level of education for Puerto Ricans as well as other New Yorkers. The college educated are more likely to be members of the labor force than those with only a high school education and those with less than seven years of school are least likely to be working or actively seeking work.[10]

Thus, at all levels of employment, Puerto Ricans face severe setbacks. A higher level of education produces a greater income lag, while lack of education reduces the ability to secure employment. Concurrently, competition for limited jobs is raising the minimal education requirements, thereby making it difficult for those without college experience to qualify. Among the manufacturing and service industries, disproportionately composed of minority unskilled and semiskilled workers, a general decline in job openings further minimizes the possibility of employment. In New York City, a continuous loss of jobs was forecast through 1980: 135,721 operatives such as garment factory workers, and 60,147 service workers such as food and household employees and elevator operators—categories where Puerto Ricans are concentrated—would be affected. This forecast implies a continuing high unemployment rate for Puerto Ricans, whose unemployment rate is already estimated at more than double that of the total population of New York City and even higher than that of blacks.[11]

The New York City fiscal crisis has disproportionately affected the employment of minorities, particularly Hispanics. The closing of day-care centers and hospitals and retrenchment in the social service sector, which is expected to continue under New York City's 3-year austerity plan, have meant the firing of lower status employees with least seniority. Between July 1974 and November 1975, 51.2 percent of all Hispanic municipal employees, as compared to 35 percent blacks and 22 percent whites, lost their jobs, which means that the minimal gains of the last few years, particularly for Hispanics, have been quickly eradicated. The impact on both minorities and women is clear. Minority representation in the city's work force decreased by 4.5 percent, and the percentage of whites increased from 66.5 percent to 72.2 percent. Women made up 28 percent of the work force, but they accounted for 33 percent of the separations; in contrast, men, who made up 71 percent of the work force, accounted for 63 percent of the separations.[12]

SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The socioeconomic status of Puerto Ricans in the United States, as determined by every measurable social index—employment, education, health, housing, welfare, etc.—has been one of extreme deprivation since their initial migration to the United States. More alarming, however, is that there has been little change in that condition over the past decades, but particularly since 1950, with every likelihood that the situation will not improve in the future. The following is a summary of demographic data on Puerto Ricans.

There are approximately 2 million Puerto Ricans living in the United States, more than triple the number living here in 1950. Seventy-five percent of those Puerto Ricans reside in New York and New Jersey, 50 percent in New York State alone. Close to a million live in New York City, comprising 10 percent of the total New York City population. Although the growth of the Puerto Rican community in the United States has been dramatic over the last 25 years, barring any unforeseen demographic changes, a stabilization pattern is anticipated during this next decade. A sizable migration back to Puerto Rico has been registered during the late 1970's, offsetting the Puerto Rican migration into the United States. The number of Puerto Ricans born in the United States relative to the number of migrants coming from Puerto Rico has been steadily increasing, although the U.S. Puerto Rican community is still predominantly island-born.[13] (See Table 1.)

It is significant, however, that although the proportion of U.S.-born Puerto Ricans has been rising sharply, there has been no overall improvement in socioeconomic status despite the tendency of income and educational attainment to increase with length of residence. In 1950, 24 percent of New York Puerto Ricans were born in the United States; in 1960, the proportion was 30 percent, and in 1970, 43 percent.[14] Yet, in 1974, the poverty level for Puerto Ricans in the United States was still higher than for other groups—32.6 percent for Puerto Ricans as compared to 24.3 percent for Chicanos, 14.3 percent for Cuban residents, 31.4 percent for blacks, and 8.9 percent for whites.[15] By ethnic grouping, the median income in 1974 is shown in Table 2.

Although the median income for Puerto Ricans has risen since 1960, it has risen less than that of the rest of the population, thereby reflecting a decline in the relative status of Puerto Ricans. In 1959, Puerto Rican median income was 71

TABLE 1

PERSONS OF PUERTO RICAN BIRTH OR PARENTAGE IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN NEW YORK CITY, 1950 TO 1970

	United States			New York City		
		Change			Change	
Year	Total	Number	Percent	Total	Number	Percent
Puerto Rican birth or parentage:						
1970	1,391,463	498,950	55.9	817,712	205,138	33.5
1960	892,513	591,138	196.1	612,574	366,694	149.1
1950	301,375	—	—	245,880	—	—
Puerto Rican birth:						
1970	810,087	193,030	31.9	473,300	43,590	10.1
1960	617,056	390,946	172.9	429,710	242,290	129.3
1950	226,110	—	—	187,420	—	—
Puerto Rican parentage:						
1970	581,376	305,919	111.1	344,412	161,548	88.3
1960	275,457	200,192	266.0	182,864	124,404	212.8
1950	75,265	—	—	58,460	—	—

TABLE 2

Puerto Rican	$ 6,779
Black	7,808
Mexican-American	8,435
Other Spanish origin	11,191
White	13,356
United States as a whole	12,044

percent of the national norm; in 1974, it was 59 percent of the national norm. The figures for Puerto Ricans living in poverty rose from 29 percent in 1970 to 33 percent in 1974.

For Puerto Ricans in New York City, which has the highest concentration of Puerto Ricans in the United States, the following summary of data from the Department of Labor vividly points to the deteriorating socioeconomic conditions:[16]

- The median Puerto Rican family income is little more than one-half the average for the city.
- Close to a third of the Puerto Ricans live at or below the poverty level.
- Even when compared with other New Yorkers by education and occupation, Puerto Ricans earn less than their counterparts.
- Between 1960 and 1970, black families in New York City registered a slight gain in their relative income positions; Puerto Ricans, while increasing their income, saw the income gap widen.

For the Puerto Rican in New York, the gap in average family income in relation to other city families increased from 60 percent in 1959 to 74 percent in 1969. In other words, during the past decade, the relative income position of the Puerto Rican family in New York deteriorated from its already low position in 1960.

Puerto Rican labor force participation indicates that:

- Unemployment rates are higher. In 1970, the Puerto Rican unemployment rate was one-and-a-half times that of the city's total population.
- Labor force participation rates are lower than for other New Yorkers. Whereas in 1970, two-fifths of the total city population was out of the labor force or unemployed, more than one-half of the Puerto Rican working-age population faced similar circumstances.

- Those who are employed are heavily concentrated in unskilled categories and in industries that are on the decline, e.g., manufacturing. Although their share of white-collar jobs has increased over the decade, few Puerto Ricans are in top-level positions.

Although fewer Puerto Ricans in New York City were reported as unemployed in 1960 than in 1950, Puerto Ricans in the 1960's registered a decline in the percentage of those working or actively seeking jobs. During this period, particularly for adult Puerto Rican women and teenagers of both sexes, the proportion of those unemployed markedly increased. A minority of Puerto Rican families have more than one wage earner. This is of special significance since the income gap between Puerto Rican families and other families narrows with more than one wage earner. "The link between family income and number of working members holds for all ethnic groups, but the results are more striking for Puerto Ricans where the second earner is even more likely to make the difference in bringing the family above the poverty line."[17]

Another important factor that makes the Puerto Rican condition more grave in New York City is that Puerto Rican women are less likely to work outside the home than others in the city (see Figure 1). Data indicate that:

- A dramatic change in labor force participation of Puerto Rican women (contrary to the citywide trend) was registered between 1950 and 1970. In 1950, 40 percent of Puerto Rican women in New York were in the labor force. Twenty years later this rate had fallen sharply to 27 percent.[18]

  In contrast to rising labor force participation rates of all women age 20 to 64 in New York City, rates for Puerto Rican women declined over the past decade—in the 25-to-34 age group the drop was 39 percent.

- One in three Puerto Rican families is headed by a woman; families headed by women are more likely to be poor, and the Puerto Rican family headed by a woman suffers the worst—58 percent of Puerto Rican families of this type fell below the poverty line, in contrast to 31 percent of the total population.

- In the prime working age, 25 to 44, Puerto Rican women in 1970 had a labor force participation rate half that of black women and one-third below that of the total population.

A comparable situation can be found in terms of income. At a national level, men of Spanish origin who were heads of families had a significantly higher median income in 1973 than women of Spanish origin who were heads of families. Thirty percent of these men had incomes of $10,000 or more as compared with 3 percent of Spanish-origin women who were heads of families. One out of every two families headed by a woman of Spanish origin was below the low-income level, and 55.6 percent of Puerto Rican women earned between $2,000 and $4,999 in 1972.[19]

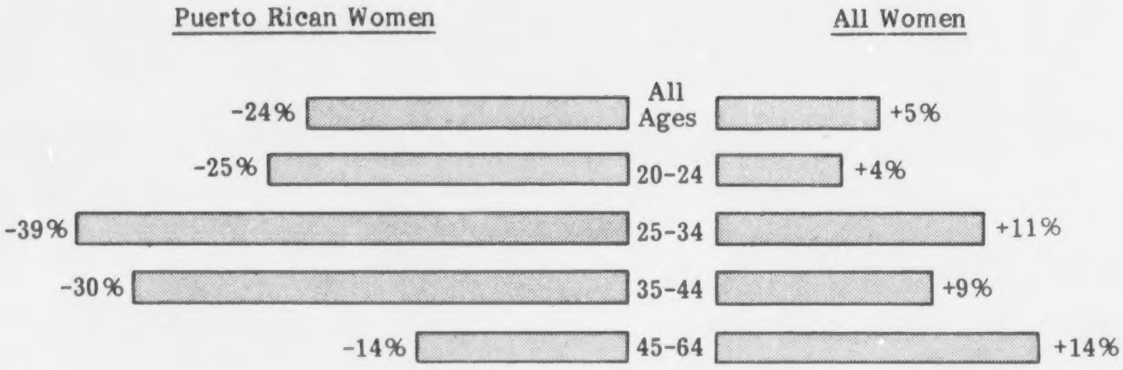

FIGURE 1

PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE IN LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN BY AGE GROUP, 1960 to 1970

Source: Decennial Census.

An alarming development has been the increase in the incidence of female-headed Puerto Rican families in New York City over the past 10 years. These families account for 29 percent of the total New York City Puerto Rican population—double the percentage for the rest of the New York City population and slightly less than for blacks at 33 percent. "The highest percentage of families headed by women is found in the 16-21 year group and the percentage drops with advancing age."[20] It is precisely that college-aged group, therefore, that is more likely to experience serious obstacles in pursuing higher education. In 1973, among Hispanic communities nationally, women were heads of 26 percent of Puerto Rican households, as compared with 12.6 percent of Chicano households and 16.1 percent of households of other Spanish heritage.[21]

Health indicators traditionally associated with poverty show that Puerto Ricans and blacks in New York City suffer to a much greater extent than the rest of the population. Thirty percent of all deaths of Puerto Rican New Yorkers age 15 to 44 were a result of accidents, homicides, or suicides, compared with 18 percent for the rest of the population. Puerto Ricans account for 22 percent of the heroin cases in the city and blacks account for 46 percent. For both groups these figures are more than double their proportion of the total population. Whites account for 28 percent of the cases.

The educational attainment level of Puerto Ricans in New York City, and in the country as a whole, falls far below that of the rest of the population. In 1970, the median number of years of school completed by New York Puerto Ricans 25 years and older was 8.6, for blacks the median was 10.9, and for the rest of the population it was 12.0. The ratio of New York Puerto Ricans completing college was 1 in 100 compared with 4 in 100 for blacks and 1 in 9 for the rest of the population. Remarkably, although Puerto Ricans in New York City advanced in level of educational attainment over the last decade more rapidly than the total population, the disadvantage continued to be considerable, attesting to the extremely wide gap that remains to be closed.[22]

Between 1950 and 1970, the exceedingly low percentage of Puerto Rican college graduates in the United States, age 25 to 44, who were college graduates remained constant (2 percent).[23] This factor helps to account for the low percentage of Puerto Ricans in professional and technical employment—a situation that seriously debilitates a community's skills, resources, and capabilities for self-development. In 1974, however, the percentage of Puerto Ricans over 25 years of age who had completed 4 or more years of college was 4.6 percent (6.1 percent for men compared with 3.1 percent for women)—a rise that was reflected in the percentage of Puerto Ricans employed in professional and technical categories for that period. The percentage was significantly higher, however, for women than for men (8.8 percent versus 4.4 percent).[24]

An important reason for the growth of Puerto Rican college enrollment was the open admissions and minority outreach programs of the early 1970's. The growth trend of the early 1970's, however, came to an abrupt halt in 1976 and has taken a reverse direction. Compounding the problem is the consistently high secondary school dropout rate for Puerto Ricans, which further reduces the pool of college eligibles. In 1970, only 23 percent of Puerto Ricans in the United States 25 years and over were high school graduates. The median number of school years completed was 8.6. This median was much lower than for any other group of Spanish origin and lower than for blacks or whites. High school completion rates for Puerto Ricans have remained proportionately the same for the last 20 years (despite a 2-year increase in median school years completed).[25]

RELATIONSHIP OF ECONOMIC CRISIS TO ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

There is every indication that the conditions of poverty for the Puerto Rican community and the socioeconomic disequilibrium with the rest of the population will continue well into the 1980's. In accordance with the generally pessimistic forecasts for urban centers where Puerto Ricans reside and the anticipated continuation of retrenchment in key social institutions that traditionally have served to dissipate the impact of economic crisis, we can predict that the most severe impact will be experienced primarily by low-income groups.

The equal opportunity policies in employment, housing, education, and other areas begun in the liberal era of the 1960's have been replaced by more restrictive policies. New and often arbitrary criteria for selection based on seniority or other eligibility standards, with an excessive preoccupation with fiscal responsibility, management efficiency, and cost effectiveness as primary considerations in program and policy determinations, will result in the exclusion of politically powerless minorities. These new priorities are a smokescreen for denial of access for minorities already excluded from the mainstream.

A national retreat from the problems of the cities—heavily associated with the problems of the ghettos and the demands of blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans—is also likely to continue. Reductions in Federal appropriations for housing, day care, health care, the aged, and education, as reflected in the last national budget, give a clear sense of national priorities. The plight of New York

City, which already has one of the highest unemployment rates in the Nation and a city university (third largest in the country) in near-collapse, can be interpreted as a pattern soon to be followed by other major metropolitan areas.

An apparent policy of neglect and intensified victimization of minorities by public officials at both the Federal and local levels is reinforced by similar policies and attitudes in the private sector.

Private foundation support to minority community efforts has been declining. Well-established research organizations, such as the Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC), are closing, and the NAACP research division is being decimated for lack of funds. Aspira of America, Inc., a widely recognized Puerto Rican educational agency, has experienced similar difficulties.

The overall impact of public and private policies propelled by real economic crisis is felt disproportionately by the poor and the minorities, and threatens to devastate this and the succeeding generation. The damaging effects of prolonged poverty through generational cycles, particularly when combined with the elements of racism and exploitation, have been well documented and need not be elaborated upon here. The points to be stressed are the degree to which Puerto Ricans are suffering those conditions, and that a correlation exists between the social factors that serve to perpetuate poverty and the role of higher education in maintaining social stratification. For the past century, institutions of higher education have failed dismally in their proclaimed role as social equalizers. They have instead served to preserve class privilege—first, by producing technicians, professionals, and managers according to class and social status, then channeling them into stratified occupations, and second, by perpetuating inequality, explaining it inevitably as a consequence of individual failure. At the same time, massive government programs have been instituted, without success, for the purpose of broadening the base of opportunity.

Access to higher education and the opportunity for advanced training in this society cannot be viewed in isolation from a community's development. Denial of access has implications that go beyond the right of individuals to achieve; it is related to the deprivation of entire communities who belong to a particular class, race, or ethnic group. It not only denies the right to economic mobility, but withholds the right to the knowledge, skills, and leadership development necessary for a people's progress.

RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL CLASS AND FAMILY INCOME TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Any serious study of the educational system in the United States must conclude that equal educational opportunity and equal access to postsecondary education do not exist for the poor, minorities, and women. The direct relationship between family income and educational achievement, including dropout rates, test scores, aspirational levels, and type of high school program and educational institution selected, has been well documented and clearly establishes socioeconomic status as a correlate of access to higher education.[26]

National "crash" efforts over the last few years to increase minority representation in higher education have not achieved equal access for minorities. Not only are these groups far from achieving equal access, but the educational gap between minorities and whites continues to widen at the higher levels of educational attainment—a fact that points to denial of both equal educational choice and access.

According to a Ford Foundation study, "Minority Enrollment and Representation in Institutions of Higher Education," only about one-fourth of all minorities in postsecondary institutions are enrolled in upper divisions, and, of those in community colleges, many are in terminal occupational programs. Even when minorities manage to obtain access to postsecondary institutions, less than half who complete 1 year of college actually go on to complete 4 or more years. At the graduate school level, the report indicates the following percentages of total enrollment for 1972-1973, represented by blacks and Spanish-surnamed persons in medical, dental, and law schools. (See Table 3.)[27]

The proportion among Cuban-Americans and other Spanish Americans who attend institutions of higher education is greater than that of Puerto Ricans and Chicanos; the percentage of Puerto Ricans attending graduate school is lower than that of most other Hispanics.[28]

The equal higher educational opportunity being offered to the masses is thus an illusion. Systematic mechanisms, such as tracking of students into stratified and disparate institutions or programs, and the use of testing and other culturally biased selection criteria discriminate against low-income and minority groups and reinforce elitist hierarchies favoring upper income and privileged groups.

A report prepared by the College Entrance Examination Board for the U.S. Office of Education, "Federal Policy Issues and Data Needs in Postsecondary Education," concludes that equal choice, equal access, and equal opportunity do not exist despite large expenditures of government funds. The report estimated that in 1972, 30 percent of the combined local, State, and Federal funds supporting postsecondary education went primarily to student aid programs aimed at providing equal access.[29] These and other large investments have been made in postsecondary education, totaling, in 1972, over $9 billion for major Federal agencies alone. Moreover, the Nixon and Johnson administrations of the 1960's and 1970's declared

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK AND SPANISH-SURNAMED STUDENTS
ENROLLED IN MEDICAL, DENTAL, AND LAW SCHOOLS
1972 TO 1973

	Medical	Dental	Law
Blacks	5.5	4.2	3.9
Spanish-surnamed	1.0	0.8	1.1

an urgent national educational priority for equal access. Nonetheless, the denial of access to higher educational institutions for low-income students, of whom a disproportionate number are minorities, has remained unchanged even during the peak years of national concern.[30] Table 4, derived from Census Bureau statistics, shows a far greater decline in college enrollment among dependent students from lower income families than among comparable students from higher income families.[31]

Lack of equal opportunity is inherent in a tracking system that relegates low-income students to particular institutions (primarily lower level 2-year colleges), thus depriving those students of the full range of options for different types of education. The distribution of full-time freshmen, by income, among types of institutions for the fall of 1973 is shown in Table 5.[32]

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILY DEPENDENTS, 18 TO 20 YEARS OLD, ENROLLED FULL-TIME IN COLLEGE, BY FAMILY INCOME

1973 Constant Dollars	1969	1973	% Change
Under $3,000	16.4	12.7	-22.6
$ 3,000 - 4,999	22.5	28.0	-20.0
$ 5,000 - 7,499	29.4	23.7	-19.4
$ 7,500 - 9,999	36.0	28.9	-19.7
$10,500 - 14,999	45.3	36.3	-19.9
$15,000 and over	58.5	53.7	- 8.2
Total	42.0	36.2	-13.8

TABLE 5

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FULL-TIME FRESHMEN AMONG TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS FALL 1973

	2-Year Colleges		4-Year Colleges		Universities	
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
All incomes	38	3	20	16	18	5
Less than $3,000	54	4	17	15	7	2
$ 3,000 - 5,999	52	3	19	15	9	2
$ 6,000 - 9,999	47	3	19	15	13	3
$10,000 - 14,999	42	2	20	14	17	3
$15,000 - 19,999	35	3	22	15	21	5
$20,000 - 24,999	29	2	22	16	24	6
More than $25,000	21	3	17	23	25	11

Note: Rows may not add up to 100 because of rounding.
Source: Computed from ACE, "National Norms," Fall 1975.

Parents' educational attainment, an indicator of socioeconomic status, has a direct relationship to the educational attainment of their children.

> The more educated the parents, the more educated the child will be. The Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education cited data showing that 19 percent of the student sample whose father's education level was less than high school graduation were enrolled in college; 40 percent of the students whose fathers had completed high school were enrolled in college; 64 percent of the students whose fathers had some college were enrolled in college; and 71 percent of those whose fathers were college graduates were enrolled in college.[33]

In New York City, "61% of the high school students whose families earned $15,000 had over an 80 average but only 12% of those with incomes under $3,700 did. Grades are also related to race. Forty-five percent of white students graduated with over 80 average but just 15% of Black and Puerto Rican students do."[34] In fact, only 16.1 percent of New York City Puerto Rican high school students were enrolled in an academic program that was considered preparatory for college entry. We must conclude that socioeconomic status and race are highly correlated with inadequate precollege preparation, poor counseling, and the tracking of low-income students.

The practice of testing (which begins as early as the elementary grades) has been seriously questioned as an adequate measure or predictor of intellectual abilities and has been criticized as measuring primarily verbal skills reflecting culturally biased experiences. With regard to low-income Puerto Rican students whose parents are migrants of different cultural and language backgrounds, the results are devastating. Testing has had the effect of tracking minority students into particular types of career training and institutional settings or excluding them altogether from higher education.

> In many cases, standardized testing has been used with the conscious intent to reinforce racial discrimination and segregation. Even where such intent is not a motivating factor, the effect is the same: separate and unequal education for students from low income and minority backgrounds.[35]

Test construction procedures themselves have been shown to account for lower scores by minorities.

For those Puerto Rican students who achieve entry, mere enrollment in an institution of higher education does not constitute equal opportunity; academic and financial supports to complete a desired course of study and the possibility of choice of program or institution are also necessary.

The extent of failure in achieving equality of opportunity in higher education is seen more sharply as we define its various components, and the previously mentioned report states that:

> Equal opportunity policies encompass three areas: access (initial entry into the postsecondary system); choice (both institutional and curricular); and opportunity for individuals to continue in education until they achieve their objectives.
>
> Opportunity has been more broadly defined as the right to continue through the educational levels as long as one's abilities permit. This includes retention and transfer to upper division programs and entrance into graduate and professional institutions.[36]

Equal choice involves:

> . . . equity in the distribution of minority and poverty students among differing types of higher education institutions, providing them collegiate options that meet their individual interests, needs and abilities.[37]

Equal access means:

> . . . equalization of enrollment rates by race, sex and income, and also equalization in the timing of enrollments (the problem of delayed entrance) and in enrollment status (part-time versus full-time).[38]

Any assessment of the degree to which these objectives have been met not only would point to past and present failure, but would be critical of the regressive policies now being implemented. Institutions of higher education in fiscal crises have so ordered their priorities as to push back further the minimal beginnings of a move toward equal opportunity for minorities and women. For Puerto Ricans, who have begun only recently to enter colleges and universities in any significant numbers, the result could be total exclusion.

PUERTO RICANS IN THE UNIVERSITY: CUNY, A CASE IN POINT

CUNY, where Puerto Ricans are found in greatest numbers, is a glaring and extremely important example of what has become a growing trend toward denial of equal access, choice, and opportunity.

The overwhelming majority of Puerto Rican students currently enrolled in institutions of higher education in the United States attend public, as opposed to private, institutions. In 1968, however, Spanish-origin students attending private institutions were more than twice the number of those attending public institutions. This fact may be attributable to the predominance in the college-going population of higher income Cuban-Americans and other Hispanics, and of island Puerto Ricans able to afford tuition. By 1972, there was a dramatic reversal. According to HEW data, Spanish-origin students who were enrolled in public institutions in the New York-New Jersey region more than tripled. (See Table 6.)[39]

The existence of CUNY as a public institution providing tuition-free higher education to all New York City residents under an open admissions policy initiated in 1970 was a critical factor in the increase of Puerto Rican college enrollment

TABLE 6

SPANISH-ORIGIN STUDENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY

Kind of Institution	1968	1970	1972
Public	681	7,786	15,761
Private	1,506	3,251	4,112

between 1969 and 1974. Puerto Rican undergraduate enrollment in CUNY more than tripled during that period, rising from 5,425, or 4.8 percent of the total undergraduate student body, to over 16,000, or 7.5 percent of the total.[40]

The number of Puerto Rican faculty in City University also rose from 247, or 1.6 percent of the total faculty in 1970, to 420, or 2.2 percent in 1973—a gain directly attributable to the increase in minority student enrollment and the mushrooming of special programs such as SEEK and ethnic studies.[41]

A CUNY evaluation of the open admissions program, tracing the progress of open admissions students over a seven-semester period, concluded that, in community colleges,

> . . . the academically weakest group of CUNY students was doing better or almost as well as the entire group of community college students throughout the nation.
>
> At the four-year colleges, 52% nationally had graduated or were still enrolled after four years. At CUNY, 46% of the below 8th grade students (that is, having less than an 8th grade reading and math skills level when entering) were still enrolled or had graduated. We believe these comparisons are very favorable to the CUNY students, inasmuch as the national group consists overwhelmingly of quite able students. (73% had earned high school averages of 80% or better.)[42]

The ability of students entering the university with low high school averages and test scores to compare favorably with students nationally in completing a 4-year college program hes been well documented. The denial of a college education to those students with low test scores or depressed high school averages, therefore, is an arbitrary and exclusionary mechanism that serves to deprive primarily low-income and minority students. Not having had the advantages of adequate schooling, these same students have demonstrated that they can successfully complete a full undergraduate program.

The retrenchment policies recently adopted by the New York City Board of Higher Education for City University are a classic example of precisely such denial of access. The combined impact of the abolition of open admissions and the imposition of tuition will result in the exclusion of a disproportionate number of blacks and Puerto Ricans from CUNY. In April 1976, the New York State Education Department issued a report on the impact of the CUNY plan for restructuring, projecting that by 1978-1979 there would be a total reduction of over 30,000 students. These projections grossly underestimate actual enrollment figures which, according to recently published CUNY estimates, place the drop in admissions in 1976 at 36,000! The effect of that drop will be felt disproportionately by Puerto Ricans and blacks.

As of March 30, 1976, the number of applicants allocated to senior colleges for the fall was down 47 percent, the largest decline among students from black (65 percent), predominantly black (59 percent), and Puerto Rican (51 percent) communities. Applicants assigned to community colleges declined by 5 percent, but those from predominantly Puerto Rican communities declined by 21 percent.[43]

In addition to excluding large numbers of blacks and Puerto Ricans from entrance, the new CUNY policies will intensify an already operative tracking system. Undergraduate ethnic data for CUNY reveal that Puerto Ricans have been overrepresented at the community college level even since the implementation of open admissions in 1970 when, Puerto Ricans represented 3.7 percent of the senior college and 7.1 percent of the community college populations. Four years later, these percentages increased to 6.3 at senior colleges and 9.2 at community colleges.[44] The new admissions criteria will relegate to community colleges an even greater percentage of those Puerto Puerto Ricans who manage to enter. According to CUNY's report, "Assessment of Alternative Admissions Criteria at CUNY," in September 1976, 57 percent of Puerto Ricans and Latins will be excluded from senior colleges and 10 percent from community colleges.[45]

The CUNY objective is a massive reduction in size and scope of the university in order to conform to an austerity budget that is expected to reach even greater crisis proportions in the future. The result will be elimination of approximately one-fourth of the faculty and one-third of the student body.[46] Calculated financial savings will result from the exclusion of large numbers of minority students with low high school averages because the exclusion will mean the elimination of special support programs such as counseling and tutoring, particularly in the senior colleges. Other small programs or departments, such as black and Puerto Rican studies, and colleges with high minority enrollment also would be eliminated as a result of the loss of students or because ethnic studies have been given low priority in the CUNY retrenchment plan. The cost savings will be at the expense of both minority students and minority faculty and staff members who are concentrated in those programs or colleges.

CUNY's retrenchment priorities have been termed openly racist, in light of their devastating and disproportionate impact on the black and Latin communities; they have also been accused of being elitist since they discriminate against low-income groups. The policies adopted are clearly a regression from recent attempts at a progressive movement toward making higher education a right rather than a privilege. They represent a departure from the liberal trend of the 1960's and the present national priorities that call for broadening the base of higher education to include those groups that have been excluded--minorities, women, and older adults. CUNY's retrenchment plan, including its seniority system and employment policies, denies equal opportunity to those very groups. The denial is all the more cynical because it signifies an abandonment of CUNY's mission to serve the poor, the working class, and the minorities of the city of New York, which was the purpose for its having been established and has been the cornerstone of its existence for 129 years.

PUERTO RICAN AND HISPANIC WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A SUMMARY

A comparison of the educational profile of Latin women in higher education to the overall educational attainment of women in the total population will provide perspective on the real impact of our invisibility within the professional fields, notwithstanding the advancements achieved by minorities in the last 5 years vis-a-vis Federal legislation, affirmative action, etc.

According to data for women in higher education, very few Spanish-origin women are highly educated. The median number of years of education achieved by Spanish-speaking women 14 years and over was only 9.7 as of March 1974.[47] Furthermore, within the Latin population as a whole, there is little disparity in educational attainment between Latin women and men, who maintain a combined median education of 10.0 years. For the academic year 1974-1975, an estimated 10,400 Puerto Rican high school graduates were immediate college entrants, of whom women constituted about half.[48]

An extremely high dropout rate (67 percent) occurs among Puerto Ricans between grades 10 and 12. According to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, only 33 percent of Puerto Rican students enrolled in the 10th grade actually graduate from American high schools—which means that the pool of Puerto Rican students eligible for immediate college entry is drastically reduced. Thus, the 5,624 Hispanic freshmen who enrolled in CUNY in 1974, although half the number of Hispanic high school graduates for that year, is, in fact, a much smaller proportion considering the total number of Hispanic students that enter high school.[49] This speaks to the relatively large number of Hispanic and Puerto Rican youth who did not pursue higher education in New York City even under an open admissions, free-tuition policy. The new admissions criteria, as of April 1976, resulted in a decline of over 51 percent in CUNY applicants from predominantly Puerto Rican communities.

An ethnic breakdown of the Hispanic female population in the United States reveals interesting comparisons of the college experiences of Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and other Spanish-oriented women (largely Cuban exiles who immigrated to this country in the 1960's). Whereas 1.3 percent of Chicanas and 6.1 percent of other Spanish-origin women had completed at least 4 years of college in 1973, 0.8 percent of Puerto Rican women in the United States had done so.

In 1973, 2.7 percent of Spanish-speaking women (14 years and older) in the United States had completed 4 years of college; 5.9 percent had at least 1 to 3 years of college. In contrast, 3.3 percent of black females, 6.1 percent of white females, and 7.7 percent of white males had completed 4 years of college.[50]

In the case of persons receiving doctoral degrees in 1973, it is interesting to note that among Latins a large portion were non-U.S. citizens. Among the 27,868 citizens who received doctorates for that year, 228, or less than 1 percent, were

Latin or Spanish-speaking citizens. Eighty-three of the 228, or 43 percent, were women, with an estimated 43 Puerto Rican women among them.[51] By comparison, approximately 200 black female citizens, representing 26 percent of a total of 760 black citizens, received doctorates in 1973. It is quite obvious that there is a very small pool of Hispanic women who are actually available for upper level faculty positions in higher education, especially considering that a large number of Hispanic doctoral recipients received their degrees in the humanities and arts, tending to concentrate in Spanish language studies.[52]

The scarcity of national data on minority presence in higher education is currently being addressed by the use of newly developed Federal questionnaires to universities and colleges, as required jointly by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the U.S. Department of Labor.[53]

Available data from a Carnegie Commission survey in the spring of 1975 on affirmative action policies in colleges and universities suggest that the percentage of minority women faculty tends not to differ appreciably from the percentage of nonminority women faculty members. However, given the small proportions of minority faculty members generally, the number of minority women was extremely small in many institutions.

Of the 486,221 college and university teachers reported in the 1970 U.S. Census, only 3,159 were women of Spanish origin, most of whom were apparently in "fringe positions."[54] Although the number of women in faculty positions has probably increased as a result of affirmative action programs, there are still very few Spanish-speaking women in high-level academic positions.

Using 1970 census data for Puerto Rico as an indicator of career training of Puerto Rican women on the island, we find 36,963, or 17.9 percent of the total Puerto Rican female labor force of 206,424, in the category of "professional, technical, and kindred workers" (of which teachers accounted for at least a third, almost all of whom were in the elementary schools). By comparison, 8,870 Puerto Rican women in the United States, or 6.6 percent of the total Puerto Rican female labor force of 133,790, were in this category.

Data also indicate that the numbers were almost equal for Puerto Rican women and men among the faculty of Puerto Rican colleges—1,502 and 1,334, respectively. Currently, the presence of Hispanic women in faculty positions in higher education not only represents a very small fraction of the total number of teaching faculty in the United States, but also implies the social mobility of a particular ethnic grouping within the Hispanic population itself. That is, Spanish-speaking women faculty found in the United States are not largely Chicanas or Puerto Ricans, since the majority of these women work at low-paying, low-skill jobs; they are of other Spanish groups, such as Cubans and South Americans, who enter the labor force with a higher level of education and preparation. They also comprise a higher percentage of the Spanish-speaking women in the upper income brackets.

In the northeastern United States, Puerto Ricans constitute a large majority of the Spanish-speaking population, and they share many of the problems of other working-class Hispanics. For this reason, we will utilize data on this group in CUNY to describe the educational achievement and the current status of Hispanics in higher education.

Generally, female students continue to experience sex stereotyping and are highly concentrated in women's fields. Nearly three-fourths of all senior college undergraduate women students major in programs having 90 percent or greater female enrollments. They are persistently handicapped not only in the types of careers they are expected to pursue (as reflected in admissions brochures), but also in the lack of services appropriate and necessary for female students in the university—i.e., health care, counseling, childcare, amounts of financial aid commensurate with that of men, etc.[55]

Hispanic female students in CUNY generally resemble the rest of the female student population as to the types of fields in which they enroll. In the senior colleges, of those undergraduate full-time Hispanic female students who declared a major in 1974, the majority were in the fields of psychology, foreign languages, business management, social science, education, and nursing. Although part-time students were fewer, they followed the same pattern of concentration in these fields (with the exception of math, where there were more part-time than full-time Hispanic women students that year). At the community college level, of a total of 3,774 full-time Hispanic women students, a large proportion (1,153) were in the field of business and commercial technology; the remaining two fields of major concentration were health and paramedical technology and public services and related technology. Most interesting is the large number (1,494) of these women in the community colleges who were listed as having "other" majors—which we surmise includes many who were intending to transfer to the senior colleges in a liberal arts program.

In terms of actual numbers, total student enrollment showed more men than women in 1974, but Hispanic women (11,774) outnumbered Hispanic men (9,953). Both were distributed almost evenly between the senior and community colleges.[56]

In that same year, Hispanic men (378) exceeded the number of Hispanic women (217) employed in CUNY as instructional and administrative staff.[57] Puerto Rican women accounted for 131 of this total, representing a considerable gain that is now jeopardized by CUNY's retrenchment policies. Thus far, approximately 11 Puerto Rican women faculty have not been reappointed for September 1976. The implications of these policies for Puerto Rican women faculty are all the more significant when we examine the overall status of female faculty within CUNY—a status that is not favorable. In the fall of 1971, the percentage of women in the CUNY labor force was well below the percentage on the national level: 30 percent and 40 percent, respectively. Women were 22 percent of the administrative personnel, about one-third (32 percent) of all faculty members, and over 95 percent of the secretarial and clerical staff. Even within this latter category, women continue to experience discrimination. Although men fill only about 4 percent of these positions, they are found nearly three times as often as women in the highest secretarial rank.

Within the different job categories, there are two prevailing patterns. First, for each category, the higher the rank, the lower the percent representation of women. Second, the largest percentages of women are found in the lower ranks. When calculated in terms of rank representation, it appears that CUNY is employing women to the extent that they are available among the tenure-bearing ranks (English, music, and psychology are the exceptions). However, this does not hold true for the non-tenure-bearing ranks. In addition, women faculty earn less than males at the same rank because men are initially hired at higher salary levels than women with comparable qualifications. Similarly, they take longer than men to achieve promotion, with the biggest hurdle for women being between the assistant and associate ranks.[58]

Two years later, little change is found in the unequal status of women. In the fall of 1973, women were more highly represented within the full-time instructional staff in the community colleges as opposed to the senior colleges: 42.1 percent and 34 percent, respectively. In contrast, as part-time faculty, they were more highly represented at the senior colleges (33 percent) than at the community colleges (29.6 percent).

Puerto Rican women in CUNY follow similar representation in the community colleges versus senior colleges, although they have comparatively low representation in both part-time and full-time positions. They account for 0.9 percent of the senior college faculties and 1.2 percent of the community college faculties. Hispanic men outnumber the women among the full-time and part-time teaching faculty. This also holds true for Puerto Ricans, in particular, as Table 7 illustrates.

Table 8 identifies the rank of Puerto Rican male and female full-time faculty at both the senior and community college levels for 1973. Figures for black faculty are included for purposes of comparison.[59]

The table indicates that, in 1973, Puerto Ricans constituted a very small part of CUNY's full-time faculty relative to blacks, particularly among the tenure-bearing ranks. Puerto Rican women were minimally present in every rank, which can be explained by the existence of Puerto Rican studies programs in the

TABLE 7

CUNY HISPANIC TEACHING FACULTY
FALL 1973

	Women		Men	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
All Hispanics	126	81	212	126
Puerto Rican	80	44	113	59

Source: CUNY Data.

TABLE 8

PUERTO RICAN AND BLACK FULL-TIME TEACHING FACULTY
1973, CUNY

	Senior Colleges		Community Colleges	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Puerto Rican				
Professor	—	2	4	4
Assoc. Professor	4	1	5	3
Asst. Professor	9	7	19	11
Instructor	19	14	13	5
Lecturer	29	21	11	12
Total	61	45	52	35
Black				
Professor	18	14	8	5
Assoc. Professor	29	21	24	17
Asst. Professor	62	52	78	76
Instructor	63	50	56	72
Lecturer	112	141	27	34
Total	284	278	193	204

university. In the ranks they hold, these women not only remain susceptible to administrative attack in times of crisis, but they find themselves in competition for advancement within a university that apparently feels no obligation to develop its junior faculty. Thus, Puerto Rican faculty generally hold a tenuous status in higher education. Their ultimate educational and professional progress does not depend solely on individual ability. A great deal depends on the willingness of a university to give meaning to the philosophy and implementation of affirmative action.

The continued presence of Puerto Rican women students in CUNY will be an indicator of institutional commitment to the university's constituencies, as well as a measure of equal opportunity for the Puerto Rican community as a whole.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The general scarcity of data on matters dealing with Puerto Ricans as an ethnic minority distinct from other Hispanics or from blacks has long been recognized. The question of needed data on Puerto Rican women is only now surfacing. Identifiable trends in their increasingly important role as heads of households, in community life, in the labor force, and in institutions such as universities makes it imperative to analyze and project the impact of the change on the community.

An obvious recommendation, therefore, is to develop a comprehensive data base on Puerto Ricans from which profiles could be made on particular segments of the population, e.g., women, students, and people of different age groups. An ancillary suggestion is to integrate, analyze, and disseminate data currently compiled by numerous Federal agencies in such fragmented and incomplete form that they are not readily usable for purposes of planning and program development.

As stressed in this paper, education, particularly higher education, is one of the critical areas for Puerto Ricans, and one for which no comprehensive data exist to indicate the status of Puerto Ricans and the significance of their presence. Institutions of higher education and their relationship to new groups, particularly ethnic minorities, should be the focus of serious study. In that regard, the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños has proposed a major study of Puerto Ricans in the university, focusing on:

- The place of the university in contemporary U.S. society and the broad goals of government economic institutions and private funding sources with respect to higher education.
- The university—CUNY—as a specific institution. Here we are looking to see how a new group, such as Puerto Ricans, works itself into this institution. We are interested in examining how these processes came about, the structures that were created to deal with a new group, how they are budgeted, who runs them, and how they are evaluated. We also will be trying to understand the development of Puerto Rican Studies in relation to the black experience, as well as the more recent efforts to introduce "white ethnic" programs.
- What has actually occurred in recent years to Puerto Ricans in the CUNY system. Our effort here will be directed at developing an informational base that will allow an objective appraisal of the impact of the City University on Puerto Ricans and vice versa.

A Latin women's collective, based in New York, held a conference at which analyses of the condition of Latin women in a number of settings were presented--one of the few such endeavors that has been undertaken to expose the situation confronting Puerto Rican women.

Aspira of America has conducted a study, "Social Factors in Educational Attainment Among Puerto Ricans in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970," which warrants amplification into broader dimensions of the problems affecting educational attainment.

Studies such as these should be supported by NIE to understand and change the institutional systems and policies that have an impact, now negatively, on the aspirations and needs of the Puerto Rican community.

A further recommendation pertinent to NIE research priorities, concerns the more important questions of research for whom, research for what, and the process by which research is undertaken. We feel strongly that, unless research has implementation objectives, is aimed at improving social conditions, and is related to the people and the institutions involved, it becomes meaningless and sterile. We urge that the Women's Research Program not commit the previous errors of NIE in its dealings with minority communities, particularly Puerto Ricans, and that it institute a process in which the communities involved have a major voice in selecting areas to be studied, in conducting the studies, and in implementing findings and recommendations. An important first step in that direction would be to name an ongoing advisory committee for each of the ethnic groups.

The Puerto Rican community's experience with NIE dates back to 1973 when educators and other members of the Puerto Rican community were asked to assist the Multi-Cultural Education Task Force in establishing research priorities. That and subsequent meetings and conferences resulted in little or no action on the part of NIE to address seriously the issues placed before it. As a result, on May 3, 1974, 14 Puerto Rican educators issued a statement critical of NIE, incorporating a number of substantive recommendations that we feel are also pertinent to the work of the Women's Research Program. The following is from the statement:

> The NIE criteria and standards in funding current research acutely limit in several ways the Puerto Rican community's opportunities to understand its own condition and that of the larger institutions to which it must relate.
>
> "Problems" are perceived as residing in individuals and groups rather than in institutions, which are themselves not researched.
>
> Research is perceived as an end in itself. Therefore, the reality being studied is conveniently viewed as static. Research findings lag behind a changing reality and fail to reflect a full awareness of diversity (ethnic, racial, geographical, sexual, and class) with its attendant dynamics.
>
> The concept of education is limited to schooling. A broader study of diverse learning situations is needed.
>
> There is no feedback of research findings to the community and little integration between research and development despite repeated affirmations of commitment to those goals.
>
> The minority's community knowledge and experience are not tapped when it is excluded from the planning and implementation of research. The educational value of participating in the search for truth will become a genuine priority only if the aim of research is convincingly communicated as liberating rather than as efforts towards achieving social adjustment.
>
> The concept of multicultural education, if it is to help us move towards building a free, pluralistic society, must not be used to mean special services to the underprivileged, but rather as a basic principle underlying all research and education.

NOTES

[1] According to estimates made by the Educational Testing Service, there were 10,400 Puerto Rican immediate college entrants among high school seniors for the 1974-1975 year. The CUNY Data Book shows a total of 5,624 Puerto Rican and Spanish-surnamed first-time CUNY freshmen entrants for fall 1974.

[2] CUNY Data Book, 1974.

[3] U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, April 1975, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1974, Series P-201, No. 280.

[4] Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women, March 1975, Minority Women and Higher Education No. 2.

[5] CUNY Affirmative Action Report, 1975.

[6] CUNY Report: Instructional Staff Non-Reappointments as of December 1, 1975 at City University By College, Sex, and Ethnicity, June 1976.

[7] CUNY Master Plan, 1968, p. 4.

[8] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, July 1975, A Socio-Economic Profile of Puerto Rican New Yorkers, Regional Report 46.

[9] Ibid., p. 127.

[10] Ibid., p. 67.

[11] New York Times, October 14, 1975.

[12] New York City Commission on Human Rights, April 1976, City Layoffs: The Effects on Minorities and Women.

[13] U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census. Subject Reports, Puerto Ricans in the U.S., 1970 Census Population, PC (2)-1E.

There are approximately 2.8 million Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico. A generally acknowledged gross U.S. census undercount of members of ethnic minorities in the United States would place the actual number of Puerto Ricans in the United States at much higher than 1.4 million, and in New York City at well over 1 million.

[14] U.S. Department of Labor, Regional Report 46, p. 43.

[15] Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1974; 1970 Census of Population; 1970 Census of Population, PC (1)-C1, U.S. Summary.

[16] U.S. Department of Labor, Regional Report 46.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[19] Association of American Colleges.

[20] Department of Labor, Regional Report 46, p. 48.

[21] Association of American Colleges.

[22] U.S. Department of Labor, Regional Report 46, pp. 49, 51.

[23] Aspira of America, Inc., *Social Factors in Educational Attainment Among Puerto Ricans in the U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970* (Unpublished report, May 1976).

[24] U.S. Department of Commerce, March 1974.

[25] Aspira of America, Inc.

[26] Task Force on the Disadvantaged and Postsecondary Education, *Options and Recommendations for New Delivery Systems, December 1974*, Appendix: Inequities and needs of disadvantaged individuals (Draft report).

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 6.

[28] Association of American Colleges.

[29] Pamela Christofel and Lois Rice, 1975, *Federal Policy Issues and Data Needs in Postsecondary Education*. OEC-0-74-2126, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), p. 9.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[31] American Association of State Colleges and Universities, *Eight Basic Facts About Tuition and Educational Opportunity*, Washington, D.C.

[32] Christofel and Rice, p. 10.

[33] Task Force on the Disadvantaged and Postsecondary Education, p. 6.

[34] The Newt Davidson Collective, *Crisis at CUNY*, P.O. Box 1034, Manhattanville Station, New York, N.Y., p. 12.

[35] Task Force on the Disadvantaged and Postsecondary Education, p. 11.

[36] Christofel and Rice, pp. 9, 11.

[37] Ibid., p. 10.

[38] Ibid., p. 9.

[39] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Civil Rights, Fall 1972, Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data From Institutions of Higher Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), OCR-74-13.

[40] CUNY Data Book, 1974.

[41] CUNY Affirmative Action Report, 1975.

[42] David E. Lavin and Richard A. Silberstein, April 1976, An Assessment of Alternative Admissions Criteria at the City University of New York.

[43] New York State Education Department.

[44] CUNY Data Book, 1975.

[45] Lavin and Silberstein.

[46] Estimates based on CUNY reports and memoranda.

[47] Association of American Colleges, p. 2.

[48] Educational Testing Service.

[49] CUNY Data Book, 1975.

[50] Association of American Colleges, pp. 2, 3.

[51] Making Affirmative Action Work in Higher Education, Carnegie Commission Report on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1975, pp. 35-36, Appendix A, Table 9.

Of a total of 347 Latins receiving doctoral degrees in 1973, 119 were non-U.S. citizens. In contrast, 61 percent, or 2,429 of the doctoral degrees awarded to members of minority groups, were received by Asians, and 81 percent of these were non-U.S. citizens. There were relatively few women among all the noncitizen doctoral degree recipients for that year.

[52] Ibid., p. 36.

[53] Ibid., p. 26.

[54] Association of American Colleges, p. 3.

[55] *The Status of Women at the City University of New York, A Report to the Chancellor*, CUNY, 1972, p. 6.

[56] CUNY data on estimated Spanish-surnamed students by major area of concentration, by college, by department, Fall 1974.

[57] Data on full-time and part-time instructional and administrative staff at the City University of New York, Fall 1973.

[58] *The Status of Women at the City University of New York*, pp. 6, 168.

[59] CUNY data, Fall 1973.

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IMPEDIMENTS TO HISPANIC WOMEN ORGANIZING

Theresa Aragón Shepro

INTRODUCTION

Historically, organizing has been considered the best method for "getting things done." In the procedural or pluralistic democracy of the United States, organizations and organized interest groups represent the major vehicle for input into decisionmaking with regard to policy and resource allocations at all levels of government. Therefore, it is not surprising that organizing is considered a key strategy for groups interested in effecting change.

Hispanic women are a group who wish to effect positive change in their socioeconomic and political status for themselves, as well as for their people. Hispanic women must define self-determination and liberation as it relates to them. They also must define the role they will play in the realization of their own and of their people's liberation.

For the purpose of this discussion, let us assume that organizing is, in fact, the most viable method of effecting change. Organizing can be defined as getting together a group of people in a systematic way to facilitate the accomplishment of a specific goal or goals. The issues and goals to which the Hispanic woman must address herself are essentially political in nature. Given the Hispanic woman's position at the bottom of any socioeconomic index, she must organize for the reallocation of governmental resources in such a way as to meet her immediate needs. Therefore, we should discuss organizing in political terms: "Who gets what, when and how," as Harold Lasswell titled his book.[1]

We need to determine whether Hispanic women can organize. Are there factors that impede their ability to organize? If so, can we identify the nature of these impediments and suggest alternatives for overcoming them?

An adequate treatment of these questions demands discussion within the context of the Hispanic woman's present reality. This context is considerably different for each group of women (Chicanas, Puertorriqueñas, Cubanas, and others) included in the generic term "Hispanic women." Therefore, this discussion will focus primarily on the Chicana, with whom I am most familiar.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

To my knowledge, no literature specifically exists with regard to Chicana organizational or political activity. There is, however, limited material concerned with Chicano political and organizational activity. Until recently, those studies that touched on Chicano political and organizational activity concluded that Chicano powerlessness was due to Chicanos themselves or to the Chicano culture.

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Two of the earliest studies available dealing specifically with Chicanos and various aspects of their politics are those of Ruth Tuck[2] and Frances Woods.[3] While both studies are generally sympathetic to the Chicano (in that they touch on ways in which the dominant society impedes Chicano political activity and participation), they identify internal causes for Chicano political powerlessness. These causes include the inability to initiate and maintain organizations and the Chicano cultural traits that are divisive in nature. The criticism leveled at these two studies has, focused primarily on their use of assimilation or acculturation models as a basis for analysis[4] and for reinforcing the passive and apolitical stereotype of Mexican-Americans.[5]

A similar, more recent study was conducted by Julián Samora and Richard Lamanna. Samora and Lamanna stress the large number of organizations and organizational activities of Mexican-Americans in East Chicago; however, their study also indicates that "the cultural level of the Mexican-American community was such that even those that were qualified to vote either by birth or naturalization were likely to lack the motivation."[6]

They indicated several times that the Mexican-American's strong sense of nationalism plays a critical role in uniting the people with respect to intraethnic relationships-organizations, internal cohesion of the subordinate community, and goals attainable within the subordinate society.[7] However, they suggest that this strong sense of nationalism "appears to be dysfunctional when applied within the context of the large society in inter-ethnic relationships."[8]

Although the Samora and Lamanna study has been criticized less severely for its use of the assimilationist model as a basis for analysis,[9] it is obvious that the underlying assumption of their work is that Chicanos must assimilate if they are to change their socioeconomic and political status in this country. The concluding chapter of their book focuses entirely on assimilation, and it highlights purported Chicano cultural traits that act as barriers to assimilation. For example, with respect to community leadership, organization, and goal realization the authors conclude:

> Individual leaders can frequently make a great deal of difference either in opposing or encouraging assimilation, but in a fragmented community, like the East Chicago Mexican-American one, one is tempted to conclude that it remains unassimilated by default—no one does nor can lead effectively. This lack of organization and cohesion has other consequences as well. Assimilation becomes an individual matter—individuals pursue their goals and, if they succeed, they move up and out of the community. There is no concerted effort to change the position of the group comparable to the civil rights activities of Negro organizations.
>
> The voluntary organizations, although oriented to greater participation of their membership in the dominant community, have yet to put together significant programs which are meaningful to the members and would help them realize their goals in the broader community.[10]

The conclusions of other scholars have been less than sympathetic because they do not recognize or thoroughly examine external constraints on Chicano political and organized activity and because they place the cause of Chicano political powerlessness squarely on the Chicano. A brief review of some of these studies should illustrate this point.

William D'Antonio and William Form, in their comparative study of community decisionmaking in El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, suggest that Chicano political powerlessness is due to the citizenry not participating in decisionmaking or feeling that "they could legitimately have political obligations."[11] They suggest that this was not due "simply to citizen apathy but the neglect to socialize that part of the Spanish-name population with limited education into the political culture of the nation and community"—which assumes that Chicano political activity would have to be activated by the majority society in accordance with an assimilationist model.[12] D'Antonio and Form also cite the "relatively low level of internal social integration"[13] of the Spanish-name community and the fact that they had not "formed clubs which could serve their political interest" as reasons for the limited "ethnic representation in community decision-making."[14]

Arthur Rubel, in his study of Weslaco, Texas, summarizes his findings of Chicano political behavior as a result of an analysis of three election campaigns. He says that ". . . Chicanos seem no less interested in political issues than do Anglos. They simply organize their activities in a different fashion."[15] Implicit in his entire study, however, is a negative judgment on this difference, i.e., it is the difference that leaves Chicanos powerless. Among examples of this difference: "Chicanos vote for the man, but not for the issues he represents"; "All overtly expressed political attitudes (of Chicanos) were personalistic in nature";[16] "Their grievances are consistently expressed as complaints, not demands"; "The concept of forming and utilizing pressure groups for purposes of bargaining for improved services appears to be absent in Mexiquito." Rubel implies that it has never occurred to Chicanos that "municipal services might be obtained or improved by the application of political leverage, or by influencing the election of an official by means of strategic voting behavior."

Rubel further notes that "some societies display a certain 'flair' for organizing and proliferating instrumental groups. Clearly, the Chicanos do not."[17] He suggests that while personalism may be sufficient for concerting their efforts to achieve goals, Chicanos:

> fail to organize one another for purposes of such achievements. Organization of groups for the attainment of goals, whether diffuse or particular, is not one of the instrumental techniques made available to them by their culture.[18]

Edward Banfield[19] and V. O. Key[20] also blame the Chicano for being his own problem. As a result of his study of Los Angeles and El Paso, among other cities included in Big City Politics, Banfield notes:

> One reason for the Latin's political incapacity is poverty. Another is lack of education . . . but perhaps the Latins' most serious handicap is their persistent attachment to Mexican, rather than North American

cultural standards. Among other things, this leads them to be satisfied with things as they are.[21]

In The Unheavenly City and again in The Unheavenly City Revisited, Banfield arrives at a somewhat different conclusion with respect to Mexican-Americans. Basically, he draws on a variation of the assimilationist model (i.e., the new immigrant) and concludes that:

> Today the Negro's main disadvantage is the same as the Puerto Rican's and Mexican's: namely, that he is the most recent unskilled and hence relative low income, migrant to reach the city from a backward rural area.[22]

Banfield does recognize that "the existence of ethnic and racial prejudice both past and present is a fact too painfully evident to require assertion," but he says that "being subject to prejudice, however, it is clear in retrospect, was not the main disadvantage of the Irish, Jews, Italians, and others. Nor is it the main one of the Negro—not to mention the Puerto Rican and the Mexican—today."[23] Banfield identifies socioeconomic status or poverty as the major cause of the minorities' plight and essentially disavows racism or discrimination as causal factors with respect to that poverty.

Vander Zanden's conclusions are similar to those of Banfield's in his assessment of the status of Mexican-Americans in this country. He notes that, while Mexican-American citizens theoretically enjoy the right to vote, they are often deprived of their voting rights "through the operation of the Texas poll tax, petty annoyances at registration, and at times outright intimidation." Nonetheless, he is able to conclude that the "single most important reason for low voter registration and participation has been widespread political apathy rather than really strong attempts of Anglos to abridge Mexican American political rights."[24]

V. O. Key believed that the stereotyping is common among majority society when he wrote: "As might be expected, there occurs among the Mexican American a high incidence of political indifference, ignorance, timidity, and sometimes venality."[25] However, Key does note that Mexican-Americans "suffer unmistakable discrimination" and "some forms of segregation" and that their low voter participation is not completely explained by "political indifference but also by voting requirements." Nonetheless, he does indicate that Mexican-American votes are bossed, controlled, or bought and that their voting behavior is less than rational in that respect.[26] Key does not consider that selling their vote may be the most rational of the irrational alternatives presented to Mexican-Americans in terms of effective participation in the political arena.

In general, these studies point to the Chicano and his culture as being the major reason for his lack of political power. Professor Ralph Guzmán briefly summarizes the majority's views of Chicano political and organizational behavior:

- Chicanos, in general, are submissive and, therefore, are not capable of effective political activity.

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- Chicanos are deeply imbued with foreign values and, therefore, cannot understand the American political system.
- Chicanos cannot achieve ethnic unity.[27]

However, there are some recent studies that question these conclusions. Serious queries have been raised about impediments to Chicano political and organizational activity, such as gerrymandering, poll taxes, and physical repression. Questions also have been raised about the validity of both the conceptual models and the methodologies used to assess Chicano political activity and participation.[28]

Academic literature in the social sciences until the 1960's generally was limited to reinforcing Anglo stereotypes of the Chicano. Whether the major fault of the social sciences has been one of omission or commission is difficult to determine. In some fields, the social sciences have reinforced the false stereotypes and myths of the Chicano prevalent in the Anglo society at large,[29] and in others, such as political science, the Chicano has been almost completely ignored.[30]

During the last decade, a number of studies have been conducted, especially by Chicano social scientists, which challenge and effectively combat the majority stereotypic view of Chicano political and organizational activity and capability. Some attempts are being made to analyze Chicano political and organizational activity from a perspective that focuses on the socioeconomic and political system that perpetuates inequalities and consequently impedes effective organizational and political activity for Chicanos. Recent efforts by Almaguer, Barrera, Flores, and Muñoz are only in the initial stages; however, they are the best efforts of Chicano or other political scientists to deal with Chicano powerlessness within the social, economic, and political context of the United States.[31]

A review of the literature suggests that Chicanos generally are faced with both internal (cultural) and external impediments to organizing themselves.[32] The most recent literature (and common sense) argues that research on Chicanos must be mindful of cultural differences and must be based on the Chicano experience vis-a-vis the dominant society. We must, therefore, provide at least a brief contextual setting prior to discussing the impediments to Chicanas organizing if we are to develop a research agenda for identifying alternatives for overcoming these impediments.

LA CHICANA: HER POSITION IN THE DOMINANT SOCIETY AND WITHIN LA RAZA

To provide the appropriate context for our discussion, we must look at the present status of Chicanas in two ways: with regard to both the dominant society and to La Raza. This will permit us to identify external and internal constraints on her ability to organize and will allow us to formulate research strategies that will produce viable alternatives for Chicanas in the United States.

Let us begin by briefly reviewing the Chicana's position within the dominant society. She is at "the bottom of the ladder" with regard to education, employment, income, adequate health care, political representation, and social freedom. Why? The reason for her plight is that she suffers from a compounded triple oppression. She is oppressed because of her race, because of her sex, because of her low socioeconomic status, and because of lack of facility with the English language. Inability to read and write English creates an additional barrier for approximately 30 percent of the Chicanas over 25 years of age.[33]

Organizational ability is dependent on a number of resources. Economic and educational resources, for example, play an important role in facilitating effective organizing. Are these resources generally available to Chicanas?

What is the Chicanas' economic status? In terms of employment, we need to know that, contrary to conventional wisdom, approximately 40 percent of all Spanish-origin women over the age of 15 were in the paid labor force in March 1973. The majority of these women were employed in low-status, low-paying jobs.

> There is considerable variation in the work patterns of the three major Spanish-speaking groups. Chicanas are more likely to be in paid labor force than either Puerto Rican and women of Cuban, South American or Central American heritage. However, women of "other Spanish origin" (including Cuban women) are twice as likely to hold professional or technical jobs; 10.3% "other Spanish origin" women hold professional and technical jobs, compared to 5.2% Chicanas and 5.0% Puerto Rican women.[34]
>
> In spite of the fact that the earnings of all Spanish-speaking women are inflated by those of "other Spanish origin" who hold professional jobs, the median annual earnings for all Spanish-speaking women in March 1972 was $2,647. At the same time, black women were earning a median annual income of $5,147 and white women a median annual income of $5,995. It is also important to note that the largest proportion of Spanish-speaking women earning less than $2,000 in 1972 was the Chicana. Forty-eight point five percent (48.5%) of all Chicanas in the labor force at that time were earning less than $2,000 per year.[35]

Obviously, the Chicana cannot depend on herself for the economic resources necessary to organize. Can the Chicana utilize her personal educational resources to generate funds for organizing projects or to provide services to her community?

What is her educational status? "Very few Spanish-speaking women are highly educated. As of March 1974, the median number of years of education for all Spanish-speaking women (14 years old or older) was only 9.7."[36] This is far below the median number for white men and women (12.3 years each). Furthermore, the Chicana ranks considerably below women of other Spanish origin in median number of years of education. As of March 1973, the median level of education for the Chicana was 9.0 years and for the Puerto Rican woman 9.4 years, as contrasted to 11.8 for women of other Spanish origin. The attrition rate is disproportionately high among Chicanas who finish high school and challenge cultural traditions and racist and sexist institutions by obtaining funds and enrolling in colleges and universities. Of all Spanish-speaking women, only 5.9 percent have had from 1 to 3 years of college. Only 2.7 percent of all Spanish-speaking women had completed 4 years of college in 1973. This figure contrasts with 3.3 percent for all black females and 6.1 percent for all white females. Chicanas and Puertorriqueñas are almost invisible at the graduate and professional school level. Furthermore, findings indicate that even if Chicanas are able to complete master's degrees, very few are admitted to Ph. D. programs. These figures would indicate that the Chicana cannot depend entirely on her own personal educational resources.

The Chicana has been, and continues to be, the object of both racial and sexual discrimination. This factor correlates directly with her lack of economic and educational resources and results in discrimination because of her low socioeconomic status. The combined consequences of these discriminations touch all aspects of Chicanas' lives.

The fact that Chicanas do not receive adequate health care is an example of such consequences. Chicanas suffer "from the effects of a health system which is not concerned with their specific health needs."[37]

In the area of health care, our comments are limited to Chicanas as consumers of health care, because these individuals have not yet made inroads into the types of training that would allow them to be the providers of health care. The discussion is also limited primarily to Chicanas as consumers of publicly provided or subsidized health care. The low economic status of the majority of Chicanas leaves them entirely dependent on whatever subsidized or public health care is made available. With only a cursory review, we have found that a number of general studies in various locales indicate that Chicanas receive inadequate health care. More recently, studies have found that many Chicanas who depend on public facilities have been mistreated. For example:

> In California, several studies conducted revealed that many patients of licensed health facilities were being coerced into having unwanted sterilization operations. Disproportionate numbers of such patients were poor, minority and non-English speaking women and men who were pressured into signing consent forms that they did not understand.[38]

Last year, 11 Chicanas (all allegedly sterilized at the County Hospital between 1971 and March 1974) filed a class action civil rights suit in Los Angeles. They charged that deceptive tactics were used by unnamed nurses and doctors to get required consent forms signed—often while women were in the pain of advanced labor. Four of the women claimed that they were sterilized without ever having signed consent forms, and others said that they did not even know the nature of the operation until weeks after it had occurred.[39] The MALDEF Chicana Rights Project, in conjunction with other legal organizations, filed a petition with the State of California Department of Health, urging the adoption of strenuous regulations to ensure that every person who is sterilized in California give his or her uncoerced, informed consent for such an operation. Many of the regulations drafted by the Chicana Rights Project were approved. However, an initial survey has indicated that the regulations are not being implemented.[40]

It is also generally known that Puertorriqueñas and Chicanas have been used as guinea pigs in experiments with birth control pills. Some of this testing and experimentation has been conducted in Puerto Rico by American drug firms. Facts recently have emerged concerning a "1957 experimental study of the birth control pill on 383 Puerto Rican women. In this field study, five Puerto Rican research subjects died; they were not attended by physicians nor autopsied."[41]

In 1971, Chicanas in San Antonio were used as guinea pigs in birth control experiments. This particular case involved 398 mothers, all poor, who had gone to a birth control research center to get contraceptives and were placed into an experiment without being told that some of the pills provided would-be placebos instead of contraceptives.

> The purpose of the experiment was to find out if the side effects associated with birth control pills really stem from the hormones in the pills or are psychological. Placebos were given to 76 of these women, mostly Chicanas. All of these women already had at least three children and had to come to the birth control center to get birth control pills. They were not told that the pills they were given were not birth control pills and were not consulted to whether they wanted to be a part of the experiment. The experiment resulted in ten unwanted babies from the use of Chicanas as guinea pigs. Because Texas law forbade abortions, they were unable to terminate their pregnancies.[42]

This is just one example of the physical and immediate consequences of discrimination felt by Chicanas. This same discrimination also has resulted in important political inequalities. Minorities and women, generally, are inadequately represented in our governmental system. Chicana representation at the local, State, and Federal levels in elected public office or in appointive governmental administrative positions is almost nonexistent. Furthermore, even in special areas (e.g., Commission on the Status of Women, Advisory Council on Minority Affairs) for minority and women's representation, the Chicana is represented by Chicanos or by white women.

Even this cursory overview of the Chicanas' present status in the dominant society indicates the kinds of problems the Chicana must overcome and points out the lack of resources available to her to do so. More important, this overview should provide us with a preliminary definition of the nature of change necessary to resolve the problem. The problem is not the Chicana, and the burden is not on the Chicana to change herself. The problem is a socioeconomic and political system that perpetuates inequalities. The burden is to modify or change that system to make it responsive to her needs.

The Chicanas' position in this society almost demands that she become an agent of change—a revolutionary.

> Why must she be a revolutionary? Because women, who constitute an essential part of each people, are in the first place exploited as workers and discriminated against as women. And who are the revolutionaries in human society? Who were they throughout history? Simply those who were exploited and discriminated against. And not only is a woman exploited as a worker when working for an exploiting monopoly, for a society of exploiting classes, but even within the ranks of the workers she is the most exploited of all, with a series of contradictions between

> her social function, her position as a woman and the exploitation to which she is subjected. So it is logical that women are revolutionaries. In a continent such as this they must be revolutionaries.[43]

Certainly, the Chicana position requires that she bring about change. But we also must determine whether she is psychologically ready to do so. It is especially in this area that her culture plays an important role. Her culture, as well as her position in the dominant society, also dictates and refines the goals that she will set and the strategies that she will select to pursue the realization of such goals.

Until recently, there has been almost no literature that focuses on the Chicana (Mexican-American or Mexicana) within her cultural context. The little that did exist prior to the last decade was extremely negative and perpetuated stereotypic notions of the Chicana and her culture. The literature defines her as a passive, male-dominated "creature": at worst the absolute subject of the male "master," and at best the reflection of the male's definition of her, the protector of his ego, and/or his *prendedor*. Her history as a revolutionary woman has been omitted and replaced with the *madre* image of the *virgen* on the one extreme and the traitor image of the Malinche on the other.

As early as 1931, Ruth Allen reported findings relevant to the Mexicana in her book, *Sociology and Social Research*. Her findings indicated that the Mexican woman always follows the man and that she is subservient to, and dependent on, her husband, in part because of her ignorance of the language and culture in the United States. She notes that "the modern women's movement, and demands for economic independence have left her (Mexicana) untouched." Furthermore, she indicates, that "the supremacy of the male is seldom disputed. First her father, then her husband or if she becomes a widow, her son receives her unquestioning service."[44] She further asserts that the Mexican standard of living is judged by the part of the family income that comes under the woman's control and that Mexicans stayed poor because their women are used to poverty. Ms. Allen also suggests that "the Mexican woman on the Central Texas farms is unproductive in any economic sense and, consequently, the home over which she presides is unproductive."[45] She says that since the Mexican woman does not produce services in the home, she has to find another method of adding to the economic welfare of the family. She has limited choices. She can either bear and raise children to work or she can go to the fields. Ms. Allen asserts that "it is a generally accepted principle, that a woman must do field work herself or produce workers to take her place."[46] She also indicates that women, even if they do work, have absolutely no economic self-sufficiency. The husband or male family member collects the earnings. Allen indicates that the Mexican woman's living status is pitiful; however, the strain of sympathy is canceled by her overall assessment of Mexicanas, which pictures them as completely subservient and ignorant and whose maximum potential contribution to this society would be to use their love of color and their desire for beauty to give "one of the drabbest spots in American civilization, the Texas tenant farm, some little touch of joy."[47]

In 1944, Norman D. Humphrey reported similar findings in a study of Mexican-Americans in Detroit. His findings indicate that the Mexican man feels he has a right to desert his family and to beat his wife because he lacks status in the dominant society. The Mexican male also indicates that if the wife should even talk to another man, the husband has a right to beat her. Humphrey does, however, feel that the Mexican man is overprotective of his wife and children. He states that "women in general, are not in a position to oppose the exercise of these protective compulsions and thereby bound to accept them." He further says that "most Mexican women in Detroit have remained subordinate, home-centered creatures." Humphrey notes that the primary role for the woman is that of "homemaker, inculcator of religious precepts and protector of her girl children."[48]

In Across the Tracks (1966), Arthur Rubel notes that the Mexican girl has "been brought up in such a manner that she represents herself as a paragon of virtue; a woman fit to mother the children of a respectable male of La Raza. Early in her life she was made aware that she represented her household group fully as much as she represented herself, an individual. In all instances, her claims to enjoyment were made secondary to the claim of property."[49]

Also interesting is the concept of the Mexican woman held by novelists and chroniclers of the early frontier period. Cecil Robinson reviews some of these concepts in his book, With the Ears of Strangers: The Mexican in American Literature (1969). He says that the "Mexican women of these stories, beautiful senoras all, seem to have been in accidental proximity to their race. Their proper place was beside the blonde, and noble giants from the North who had rescued them from the connivings of deceitful, cowardly and dowry-seeking Mexican suitors."[50] He notes that even chroniclers who could find nothing else to say in favor of Mexicans indicated that Mexican women were often handsome and most desirable.

Many of the studies that touch on the Chicana are based on assimilationist assumptions. If the studies note any potential for Chicanos or Chicanas, it has to be through assimilation. Even an otherwise very scientific study on endogamy and exogamy among Mexican-American people implies that the higher rate of exogamy among Mexican-American women, as compared with men, is good—the assumption being that it will expedite the process of assimilation.[51]

In summary, literature and research by Anglo social scientists and others do their best to perpetuate stereotypic notions held by the dominant society. The literature presents a negative view of the Chicana and of her culture.

It is not surprising that Chicanas would combat this negative view. However, in the process, they are doing something much more important. They are attempting to define themselves as individuals (not solely as wives and mothers) in relation to each other, to La Raza, and to the Chicano Movement.

Certainly, one cannot negate the fact that many Chicanos feel culturally bound to play a dominant role in relation to the Chicana. This proclivity toward dominance (shared by white men as well) is reinforced by Roman Catholic traditions interwoven through the culture. Consuelo Nieto does an excellent job of pointing out how teachings of the Roman Catholic Church place women in a subordinate position. She also notes that the interweaving of cultural and Catholic traditions combine to establish la virgen as "the ultimate role model."[52]

The Chicana is surrounded by a society where males dominate and by cultural traditions that relegate her to an unequal position vis-a-vis the male. However, her culture does not negate her importance, as it does provide her with a revolutionary tradition and supportive mechanisms that can be used as resources if she attempts to organize to effect change.

The Chicana has taken the initial and the most important step. She refuses to be defined on the basis of stereotypic notions in society at large and within La Raza. However, she is now faced with the extremely difficult task of determining which of her cultural traditions will support her struggle as an individual and which of those traditions may have to be discarded as impediments to her fulfillment as a human being.

Today, many Chicanas are having real difficulties in defining their self-determination as it relates to their culture, to La Raza, and to the Chicano Movement's goals. Some Chicanas have been dominated so completely that they cannot even envision another role for themselves. Many Chicanas are frightened because they feel they lack skills to function as an individual rather than as a male appendage. Many Chicanas equate Chicana liberation with white women's liberation, which therefore makes it untenable for them. Others feel that to demand equality for themselves within La Raza or to step out of the traditional supportive role at this time would be dysfunctional to achieving the Movement's goals because it would pit them against the men and sever Raza unity.

These difficulties are reflected in the recent writings of Chicanas.[53] In many instances, the difficulties and dilemmas become the focal point of meetings or conferences of Chicanas. In some instances, they prevent Chicana efforts to organize themselves to deal with their problems. A good example is the first major Chicana conference held in Houston. Another is cited by Longeaux y Vázquez about a La Raza Conference in Colorado where a representative said that "it was the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be liberated."[54]

Nonetheless, Chicanas are grappling with these difficulties and have not been inactivated because of them. There are numerous examples of Chicanas organizing to help themselves and La Raza (e.g., Chicana Service Action Center, Los Angeles; MALDEF: Chicana Rights Project, San Antonio; welfare rights groups; Chicana Foundation, etc.). There are also a few Chicanas obtaining leadership positions in Raza organizations, labor organizations, business, education, government, and even organizations sponsored by the Catholic Church. These women and others in the past (Adelitas, Lucía Gonzales de Parsons, mujeres del primer Congreso Mexicanista, Erma Tenayuca) serve as role models for Chicanas. Together they provide evidence for the Chicanas' positive self-assessment as a strong, capable, intelligent individual who can and must play a viable role in defining and obtaining her liberation and that of her people.

Julia de Burgos, a Puertorriqueña writing in the 1930's, captures much of the search for definition, the dilemmas, the strengths, and the struggle for social justice in her poem, "A Julia de Burgos".[55] This poem, even today, comes closest to characterizing the position of many Chicanas and of many of her Hispanic sisters.

A Julia de Burgos

Ya las gentes murmuran que yo soy tu enemiga porque dicen que en verso doy al mundo tu yo. Mienten, Julia de Burgos. Mienten, Julia de Burgos. La que se alza en mis versos no es tu voz; es mi voz; porque tú eres ropaje y la esencia soy yo; y el más profundo abismo se tiende entre las dos. Tú eres fría muñeca de mentira social, y yo viril destello de la humana verdad. Tú, miel de cortesanas hipocresías; yo no; que en todos mis poemas desnudo el corazón. Tú eres como tu mundo, egoísta; yo no; que todo me lo juego a ser lo que soy yo. Tú eres sólo la grave señora señorona; yo no; yo soy la vida, la fuerza, la mujer. Tú eres de tu marido, de tu amo; yo no; yo de nadie, o de todos porque a todos, a todos, en mi limpio sentir y en mi pensar me doy. Tú te rizas el pelo y te pintas; yo no; a mí me riza el viento; a mí me pinta el sol. Tú eres dama casera, resignada, sumisa, atada a los prejuicios de los hombres; yo no; que yo soy Rocinante corriendo desbocada olfateando horizontes de justicia de Dios.

Tú en ti misma no mandas; a ti todos te mandan, en ti mandan tu esposo, tus padres, tus parientes, el cura, la modista, el teatro, el casino, el auto, las alhajas, el banquete, el champán, el ciel y el infierno, y el qué dirán social. En mí no, que en mí manda mi solo corazón, mi solo pensamiento; quien manda en mí soy yo. Tú, flor de aristocracia; y yo, la flor del pueblo. Tú en ti lo tienes todo y a todos se lo debes, mientras que yo, mi nada a nadie se la debo. Tú, clavada al estático dividendo ancestral, y yo, un uno en la cifra del divisor social, somos el duelo a muerte que se acerca fatal. Cuando las multitudes corran alborotadas dejando atrás cenizas de injusticias quemadas, y cuando con la tea de las siete virtudes, tras los siete pecados, corran las multitudes, contra ti, y contra todo lo injusto y lo inhumano, yo iré en medio de ellas con la tea en la mano.

Julia de Burgos.

The Chicana's position in the dominant society demands that she be an agent of change. The Chicana's position within La Raza and her assessment of self within her culture have prepared her for this role. However, she must face both internal and external impediments in her effort to organize to effect change.

The foregoing discussion has touched on many of the impediments to organizing faced by Chicanas. Many of the internal impediments are attitudinal; most of the external impediments relate to the lack of resources, which does not require further research to clarify what is needed. As a result of the Chicana's present position in society and within her culture, we do, however, need to determine viable organizing strategies or alternatives to overcome these internal and external impediments. How can we best approach this problem?

PROPOSED RESEARCH AGENDA

The following proposed research areas assume a coherent body of baseline data on the Chicana and, to my knowledge, there are no such data. This fact is not due to a lack of suggestions or proposals for Chicanas. The need for data and the delineation of the kinds of data needed have been presented time and again to practically all the major Federal agencies.[56]

I also want to reemphasize that any research that attempts to provide data about, and useful to, the Chicana must be based on a conceptual framework consistent with the Chicana and her goals. Conceptual frameworks and methodologies that are useful for generating and analyzing data for white women cannot be adopted for research on the Chicana. Approaches to research on Hispanic women, which do not distinguish among the groups represented within that term, will not produce viable or even accurate results for any one of their groups. Conceptual frameworks that assume dominant society goals (e.g., assimilation) for Chicanas are also untenable.

If we are to attempt to use research as a method for providing viable alternatives for organizing, it must be based on the Chicana's present reality. Many Chicanas hesitate to become active in efforts to effect change because of pressures inherent in their traditional cultural role. The degree of hesitancy, as well as the degree of involvement, vary directly with age, economic and educational status, ability to understand and speak English, geographic location (Northwest-Southwest; urban-rural), the number of Raza within her immediate surroundings, marital status, and number of children. Therefore, any research must consider these distinctions, and survey research, especially, must include stratified samples representative of this diversity.

With the foregoing in mind, I suggest the following examples of the many research areas relevant to the organization of Chicanas.

- Analysis of existing Chicana organizations to include: descriptive and case studies of random issues and geographical (urban-rural; Texas-Illinois) samples of Chicana organizations; analysis of methods and incentives utilized to form organizations; delineation of organizational goals, as specified by organizations and analysis of success or lack of success in achievement; survey of client or constituency satisfaction with service performed by the organization (if appropriate, male-female comparisons); comparative analysis of similar issue-based (e.g., employment) Chicano and Chicana organizations focusing on methods or strategies for accomplishing goals.

- Identification and study of Chicana leaders and/or heads of organizations—a process that should include: (1) a comparative matrix for Chicanas who are successful in organizing and/or leading Chicanas; (2) Chicanas who are successful in organizing and/or leading both Chicanos and Chicanas; (3) Chicanas who are successful in organizing and/or leading other minority or white women; and (4) Chicanas who are successful in organizing and/or leading both sexes in the dominant society or in "system jobs." This research also might include: (1) identification of characteristics differentiating these samples; (2) identification of "critical" factors in moving from political unconsciousness to political consciousness and active commitment; (3) identification and analysis of personal qualities which these Chicana leaders feel have contributed to their success as organizers or leaders; (4) identification and analysis of successful and unsuccessful organizing techniques and incentives used; (5) identification and analysis of costs (risks) and benefits for Chicana leaders-organizers as perceived by them; and (6) sampling of both men and women's perceptions of Chicana leaders within the field or locale of their endeavors.

- Development of a design for an "organizing resources" assessment for Chicanas to respond to these questions: (1) What personal qualities do Chicanas possess which they think are important for organizing Chicanas and others? (2) What cultural supports can be used as resources for organizing? (3) What issues can be used as organizing resources, and how? (4) What educational background and skills (traditional and nontraditional) can Chicanas utilize as organizing resources?

- Determination of which issues (problems) would be, for Chicanas, of sufficient importance to serve as catalysts to overcome the costs (risks) and the cultural and systemic impediments to organizing.

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[10] Samora and Lamanna, p. 135.

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[15] Arthur Rubel, 1966, *Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City* (Austin: University of Texas Press), p. 139.

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[24] James W. Vander Zanden, 1966, *American Minority Relations: The Sociology of Race and Ethnic Groups*, 2nd ed. (New York: The Ronald Press Co.), p. 254.

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[27] Ralph Guzmán, 1974, The function of Anglo-American racism in the political development of Chicanos, in *La Causa Política: A Chicano Politics Reader*, ed. F. Chris García, (South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press), p. 32.

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[31] Tomás Almaguer, Historical notes on Chicano oppression: The dialectics of racial and class domination in North America, *Aztlan: A Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts*, 5, Nos. 1, 2 (Spring and Fall, 1974), 27; Carlos Muñoz, Jr., The politics of protest and the Chicano liberation: A case study of repression and cooptation, *Aztlan: A Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts*, 5, Nos. 1, 2 (Spring and Fall, 1974), 119; Barrera et al., The barrio as an internal colony, p. 477; Guillermo V. Flores, Race and culture in the internal colony: Keeping the Chicano in his place, *Structures of Dependency*, p. 189.

[32] See, for example, Miguel David Tirado, Mexican-American community political organization: the key to Chicano political power, 1974, in *La Causa Política: A Chicano Politics Reader*, ed. F. Chris García, (South Bend, Indiana: *University of Notre Dame Press*).

[33] Spanish-Speaking Women and Higher Education: A Review of Their Current Status, Project on the Status and Education of Women, *Series on Status of Minority Women*, No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Association of *American Colleges*), 1975, p. 1.

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[35] *Ibid*., p. 3. For a more detailed overview of the Chicano worker, see Laura E. Arroyo, Industrial and occupational distribution of Chicana workers, *Atzlan*, 4, No. 2 (Fall 1975).

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[38] MALDEF, Chicana Rights Project, *Review of "Informed Consent" Project*. Prepared for Chicana Rights Project Task Force Meeting, San Francisco, April 29, 1976, p. 2.

[39] Eleven Women File Suit on Sterilization, *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1975, Section II, p. 1.

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[55] Julia de Burgos, A Julia de Burgos, in Poema en 20 Surcos (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Julia de Burgos, Invierno de 1938.

[56] An excellent example is a Report on Recommendations for Implementation prepared for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by its Spanish-Speaking Women's Concern Group. The Report fully delineates nine research projects related to specific data needs on Chicanas and other Spanish-speaking women.

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V. Group II: Researchers

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CHAIRPERSON

Cecilia Preciado de Burciaga

PRESENTERS:

Nancy Ayala-Vázquez. "Guidance and Counseling of Spanish-Background Girls."

María Angélica Bithorn. "Hispanic Women Move Forward—Out of Marginal Status."

Sylvia Gonzales. "La Chicana: An Overview."

Rosa Jiménez-Vázquez. "Social Issues Confronting Hispanic-American Women."

Consuelo Nieto. "Chicana Identity: Interaction of Culture and Sex Roles."

Silvia Viera. "The Need for an Anthropological and Cognitive Approach to the Education of Hispanic Women."

DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS:

Patricia Benavídez

Lourdes Miranda King

Flora Ortiz

Marta Sotomayor

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CHAIRPERSON'S REPORT

Cecilia Preciado de Burciaga

A brief summary of the content of each paper and the specific recommendations that resulted from the paper's discussion follow. The research and policy recommendations of the group are summarized.

GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING OF SPANISH BACKGROUND GIRLS

By Dr. Nancy Ayala-Vázquez

Dr. Ayala-Vázquez's paper focuses on the key issue in effective counseling for Hispanic women: the requirement that the counselor have firsthand knowledge of the individual's perceived needs and the person's cultural reference group. Traditional counseling styles or techniques have been inadequate and inappropriate because they have failed to conceptualize and individualize counseling for Hispanic girls within the framework of Hispanic culture.

Traditional counseling precepts stress that the counselor's lack of personal involvement with a client may increase comprehension of the problem. The author contends that in counseling Hispanic girls, the counselor's personal involvement generally is more appropriate. Within Hispanic society, the counselor is expected to assume a more powerful role in terms of direct advice, role modeling, and loyal support to the counselee. Because Hispanic women face identity conflicts imposed by two cultures, the counselor should support the counselee in adapting, conserving, rejecting, and synthesizing appropriate personal and career goals.

Author's Recommendations

- Study areas of cultural conflict.
- Determine the degree to which such counseling contributes to success in school, career, and "life planning" for Hispanic women.

In the group discussion, guidance and counseling were viewed as a cornerstone in the educational and vocational success of young Hispanic women. Participants cited personal examples of well-meaning, but, in fact, it was stereotyped and inappropriate guidance that they had been given while in school (and which students today also receive). Participants felt that had they followed the advice, few of those present would have selected professional careers. They agreed with the paper's conclusion that, typically, the counseling and guidance process is devoid of cultural mores and values. Young Hispanic women still receive advice that

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conflicts with the values of their home and culture. Schools still fail to employ counselors who are appropriate role models for Hispanic women.

Traditional counselors have not utilized community resources, which further disenfranchises Hispanic women. This was seen as crucial, because counselors are fundamentally failing to provide the counselee with skills that will help her "negotiate" both the school and community systems. Discussants strongly emphasized the need to use community resources and to assess community needs.

Training guidance counselors was another key issue. Graduate schools of education clearly are responsible for preparing guidance counselors poorly for work with culturally and "linguistically" distinct men or women.

Discussion Group's Recommendations

- Assess the traditional values of Hispanic women that have a serious impact on guidance and counseling.
- Assess the community's expectations of the schools.
- Determine the core of counseling techniques and coping strategies that have proven most effective with regard to Hispanic females.
- Develop longitudinal studies to assess the classes or vocational tracks into which Hispanic women have been channeled by guidance counselors.
- Study the differential school behavior expected of Hispanic girls and boys by family, teachers, and students themselves. (For example, how do Hispanic parents view role scripting or sex roles for their daughters? Empirical data are needed to dispel stereotypical notions of parental expectations.)
- Determine factors that contribute to school success, and thus, determine those that should be incorporated into school programs.
- Investigate career areas that Hispanic women have entered. What are their future career needs?
- Assess values of physical education activities unique to Hispanic women. Assess the implications of Title IX.
- Conduct research on Hispanic women who have selected alternative lifestyles (e.g., the gay Hispana).

HISPANIC WOMEN MOVE FORWARD—OUT OF A MARGINAL STATUS

By Dr. María Angélica Bithorn

This position paper addresses the marginal status of the Hispanic woman who is oppressed and paralyzed by a multitude of societal forces and, thus, is unable to exercise self-determination. Dr. Bithorn gives a brief historical, social, and economic profile of Puertorriqueñas and Chicanas. She suggests that their oppression is rooted in machismo, religion, and the double discrimination faced as women and as "foreigners" in this country. Hispanic women often fall into the "compassion trap," which forces them to subjugate their own desires and needs.

The author views the educational process as the central road to personal and economic independence for Hispanic women. Though there are a sufficient number of educational programs in operation, Dr. Bithorn cites various reasons for the lack of Hispanic women's participation in these programs. Community colleges and universities have unrealistic, poorly structured curriculums, irrelevant to the needs of Hispanic women. The available information on financial assistance, career counseling services, and scholarships is not published in Spanish, and there is little or no institutional outreach into the Hispanic communities. Since language proficiency courses usually are not included in educational programs, access to these programs is improbable. For the few who do enter, graduation is rare. Consciousness-raising experiences, which are sorely needed by Hispanic women, are not yet available to Spanish-speaking women.

Dr. Bithorn concludes that, unless there is a sincere and concerted governmental effort to rectify these deficiencies, Hispanic women will continue to be disenfranchised and will view public assistance as their only alternative for survival.

Author's Recommendations

- Creation of a National Hispanic Women's Bureau, administered by Hispanic women, to conduct reliable research and to provide the means of communicating the needs and strengths of our women in the community.
- Establishment of community-level Hispanic Women's Resource Centers as networks under the aegis of the National Hispanic Women's Bureau. (Women leaders in the community should be identified and supported. The unique leadership styles of both the grassroots and the professional Hispanic woman should be assessed.)

Discussion Group's Recommendations

- Assess the unique needs of Hispanic women for childcare centers. Investigate whether these centers will actually make a difference in the educational and occupational opportunities afforded Hispanic women.
- Assess the perceptions that Hispanic women have of other Hispanic women, e.g., how Puerto Rican women view Chicanas, and vice versa.

- Identify the impediments that Hispanic women face in organizing.

- Determine the factors that jeopardize Hispanic women's acquisition and retention of positions within their own organizations. What are the personal characteristics that enhance the likelihood that Hispanic individuals will acquire and retain such positions?

- Study the impact of colonialism on Puerto Rican women. (The socioeconomic and political situation of Puerto Rico has inhibited the male and seriously affected the migration process.)

- Study curriculums of women's studies departments in colleges and universities to determine whether they reflect an integrated approach to ethnic women's concerns.

- Determine the impact of affirmative action efforts on the hiring and promotion rates of the various Hispanic women's groups.

LA CHICANA: AN OVERVIEW

By Dr. Sylvia Gonzales

The author focuses on the Chicana. The first portion of her report is "The Chicana and the Feminist Movement: Mexico City and Beyond." The second portion of the report, "The Chicana Perspective, A Design for Self-Awareness," includes a historical perspective, a review of the traditional literature written about Chicanas, a review of literature written by Chicanas, case studies, and a futuristic outlook.

In the first section, Dr. Gonzales points to the disappointments experienced by Chicanas attending the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City in 1975. They were excluded from official status or representation within the U.S. delegation. She wonders whether this exclusion is a manifestation of racial discrimination taking precedence over sexual discrimination in the United States.

In referring to the hierarchy of oppression, Dr. Gonzales sees the Chicana as suffering from triple discrimination: (1) as a member of an oppressed nationality; (2) as a worker; and (3) as a woman. Chicanas also are victims of the negative stereotypes within the larger Chicano Movement, and the author presents examples of such attitudes in music, literature, and hiring practices. Pointing to the Chicano male, she says that he must realize that true liberation cannot be attained while he is unwilling to share the revolution with the Chicana.

Dr. Gonzales concludes that the Feminist Movement has produced mixed outcomes for the Chicana. While it has paved the way for Chicanas to focus on feminist concerns, it also has created another form of exclusion within the feminist ranks. Women's conferences and meetings treat the problems of minority women only as subtopics. Dr. Gonzales contends that black women have greater visibility and are less culturally and linguistically distinct from white women than are other minority women. She urges black women to be concerned about bringing other ethnic women into the feminist ranks. Dr. Gonzales questions whether oppressed women can achieve true liberation while perpetuating the role of the oppressor.

In the second section of the paper, Dr. Gonzales presents a historical view of the Mexican women of the revolution. She notes that the early feminist leaders were role models for Chicanas.

The review of traditional literature cites stereotypical notions of the Chicana as passive, subservient, and powerless. The writer contends that the traditional literature has greatly hampered Chicanas from assuming positions of leadership. Drastic underrepresentation of Chicanas in politics, industry, and the educational system bears witness to this situation.

The review of literature written by and about Chicanas demonstrates that there is now an evolutionary history of Chicana involvement. National and local Chicana conferences have provided an important source of information; however, the author stresses the need for original, innovative, and insightful research into the everyday experiences of Chicanas in all walks of life. The contributions of individual Chicanas must be written to present relevant role models for the current and future generations of Chicanas.

In her views of the future, the author contends that Chicanas must be given alternatives to early marriage and to continued oppressive attitudes that cloud individual potential. She points to the need for professionally trained women to teach young Chicanas self-awareness skills without assuming a stifling leadership position. Finally, Dr. Gonzales asks that Chicanas themselves assume the personal burden of liberation for the Chicana by searching out historical and personal role models to emulate.

Author's Recommendations

- Research on the Chicana should focus on personal accounts and case studies. Hard data and empirical research also are needed.
- An anthology of Chicanas that categorizes experiences according to the societal perceptions they represent should be developed.
- A research center and library on the Chicana should be created. The Center should be a functional part of an academic institution providing academic credit and preparing Chicanas for academic and nonacademic employment opportunities.

SOCIAL ISSUES CONFRONTING HISPANIC AMERICAN WOMEN

By Dr. Rosa Jiménez-Vázquez

The author presents the multidimensional societal problems faced by Hispanic women in North American society. The writer refers to Hispanic women as doubly marginal because they face discrimination with regard to their cultural affiliation in addition to the traditional discrimination faced by all North American women.

She explores these factors through a multidisciplinary approach using historical, cultural, economic, social, and psychological perspectives.

The first section, "Historical Review of the Relationship Between North American and Hispanic Women," documents the setting of exploitation, paternalism, and colonialist attitudes of the North American vis-a-vis the Hispanic American. The writer states that "again we perceive is the dominant male attitude of raping the land of a feminine, submissive Hispanic America!" The historical colonizations of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Mexico are presented to develop further the themes of oppression.

In the second section, "Hispanic America and Its Cultural Legacy: People and Institutions," the author covers issues of cultural diversity, the problems of Hispanic-American families, and the concepts of *machismo*, *marianismo*, and *hembrismo*. Because the cultural legacy of Hispanic America is a loose combination of the Spanish, Portuguese, Indian, and black, the writer contends that it is virtually impossible to stress homogeneity on any level.

In discussing the differences between institutions in Hispanic America versus Anglo-Saxon America, four major characteristics are cited: personalism, *Compadrazgo*, morality and honor, and admiration of authority. The author contends that these characteristics, deeply ingrained in traditional Hispanic institutions, often are in direct conflict with Anglo-Saxon institutional settings.

In presenting the cultural beliefs of Hispanic-American families, the writer again highlights the differences between Hispanic and North American socialization styles. The central importance of supporting the family unit, rather than the individual, is but one example of the distinct cultural values of the Hispanic-American.

The third section, "Hispanic-American Women: Trend Toward Changes," presents a historical development of Hispanic women's social roles. The author notes that many women, from the Conquest on, have shown their strengths and skill by participating in political, social, and economic activities outside of their home. At present, however, the trend of increasing gains for women is not as visible in Hispanic America; and the writer contends that this probably is due to insufficient industrialization, as well as to the need for more economic and social modernization in Hispanic countries. The overall conclusion, however, is that Hispanic women are engaging in new societal roles, and various current magazine articles written by women in Hispanic countries attest to this fact.

The section "The Hispanic-American Experience in North America—Hispanic Americans as a Group" stresses the heterogeneity of experiences faced by each Hispanic group and the fundamental adjustment in values, norms, and behavior needed in the Americanization process. The author talks of Hispanic American families coming to the United States with "cultural baggage" that determines the amount of energy required for adaptation to the new circumstances. She concludes that the drive to make multifaceted adjustments results in a variety of negative or dysfunctional outcomes.

In the final section, "The Struggle for Hispanic Women's Rights: The Hispanic Woman's Dilemma," the writer contends that reaching a position of equity within North American society, while maintaining the bonds of Hispanic American traditional structures, seems an impossible task. An open alliance with the Feminist Movement poses potential alienation from the Hispanic culture because this affiliation is viewed as part of an Americanization process. Furthermore, the author perceives that North American women are, for the most part, interested only in the issue of sexism, while Hispanic women in the United States must combat both racism and sexism. In summation, the writer believes that in the Hispanic women's battle for traditional changes, two issues are foremost: (1) understanding the impediments to such changes; and (2) building bonds which lead to abolishment of institutional discrimination.

Author's Recommendations

- Reevaluate the existing literature related to the cultural, familial, and individual values of Hispanic Americans.
- Study the reality of Hispanic American barrios to assess the trends, sentiments, and needs of their populations.
- Study specific Hispanic modalities, such as machismo versus North American male chauvinism and the concepts of the extended versus the nuclear family.
- Study specific target groups within the Hispanic American groups, e.g., the middle-aged Cuban professionals, the aged, women in poverty, etc.
- Study dimensions of stresses faced by Hispanic women who are en route to becoming professionals; e.g., what are the social and psychological costs of acculturation?
- Study, as a guide for Hispanic woman in the United States, the processes of change for women in Hispanic America.
- Review the North American experience for different Hispanic groups to determine the differences in their Americanization process.

Discussion Group's Recommendations

- Develop regional research centers in both universities and communities to address the needs and strengths of Hispanic women.
- Assess cross-culturally the phenomenon of machismo or male chauvinism; e.g., what are the differences and the similarities, and how do they operate in the larger society in which women also play a major role?

- Review cross-culturally women's roles and assess how the same problems are resolved in different cultures.

CHICANA IDENTITY: INTERACTION OF CULTURAL AND SEX ROLES

By Dr. Consuelo Nieto

Dr. Nieto cites three main purposes for this paper: to give a picture of Chicanas as they are written and spoken about by other people within the Chicana culture, to direct those who have responsible roles in the education system to informed sources of knowledge and interpretation about the Chicana, and to suggest further research areas on the subject of Chicanas.

This writer also stresses the double discrimination of racism and sexism that victimizes the Chicana. She states that Chicanas, like other minority women, usually engage in the struggle for female equality within their own cultural context, and not in association with the majority of women. Because the Chicana has chosen this strategy, her struggle is less visible to the majority and to the media; nonetheless, Dr. Nieto contends, Chicanas have been very active. She cites literature reinforcing the Chicanas' reasons for needing to remain within the Chicano cultural context. Essentially, the author suggests that the reasons for nonaffiliation with the Feminist Movement are based on: (1) the uniqueness of the Chicana's struggle; (2) the integration of her struggle with the community's struggle to preserve Chicano culture; (3) the suspicion toward Anglo women because of their association with the whole society which has discriminated against La Raza; and (4) the belief of many Chicanas that Anglo women are working against, rather than with, men in the struggle for equality. In the historical summary, Dr. Nieto presents the roots of the Chicana through descriptions of Mexican role models and writers.

The five interviews she presents synthesize the goals of Chicanas with regard to community needs and priorities. Racism, as well as sexism, are the enemies that must be fought before self-determination and equal opportunity become a reality for the Chicana.

The educational implications are essentially those of inclusion of Chicano culture in the teaching staff and curriculums of the schools. Dr. Nieto calls for utilization, and thus, a closer integration, of community and school for role model resources. She suggests that the schools must equip the Chicana with the skills that will lead her to successful personal and vocational alternatives.

Author's Recommendations

- Document the Chicana historically both in the Mexican and the United States experience.
- Study the issue of Chicana identity. Who is she? What are her multi-dimensions and identities?
- Determine the socialization influences exerted on the Chicana by family, school, and church.

- Evaluate the dynamics of Chicana-Chicano relationships (e.g., what has been the impact of the movement on the relationships?).

- Undertake a comprehensive review and evaluation of all the literature available on the Hispanic woman.

Discussion Group's Recommendations

- Examine the factors that preclude or hamper Hispanic women's success in educational and occupational settings.

- Create curriculums training centers to analyze and produce curriculum material free of sex roles for teachers and parents. Components that should be included are oral history, poetry, songs, and community role models. Curriculums for elementary and secondary levels must reflect both the sexual and cultural identity of young women to legitimize and reinforce their culture.

- Study teacher training institutions. (How are teachers acculturated to perpetuate sex roles and behavior norms? Conduct research on teaching styles. How can interaction between teachers and students be improved? Which teaching styles are most effective with Hispanic women?)

THE NEED FOR AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND COGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE EDUCATION OF HISPANIC WOMEN

By Dr. Silvia Viera

In this paper, Dr. Viera focuses on the traditional education of Puerto Rican women and suggests new approaches based on an anthropological perspective. In assessing the informal education of Puerto Rican women, the author stresses that these women are raised in a patriarchal ambience. The assumption is that "the girls belong to the home, and the sons belong to the street." She argues that the patriarchal system is perpetuated through the socialization process that women themselves use with their children and that this cycle is endlessly replicated. She points out that the Puerto Rican woman suffers from psychological assault from the moment of her conception and that her culturally based role is that of being "conforming, gentle, and submissive," as opposed to the male, who is "expected to be rebellious, assertive, and domineering." To break these cultural constraints is to face social ostracism.

The formal education of Puerto Rican women has aided in perpetuating the cultural expectations set at home and in informal educational settings. Dr. Viera contends that the true vanguards of feminism in Puerto Rico were the women of the aristocracy and of the working class. Their struggle was not only for freedom from patterned sex roles, but was also against political oppression. She points out that most teachers in the school system are middle-class white women who perpetuate the self-fulfilling prophecy of female inferiority. She calls for Puerto Rican women to counterattack the myths of sex role stereotypes through initiation of their own literature and research.

In the second part of her paper on the education of Puerto Rican women, Dr. Viera calls for inclusion of culture (language, social structure, and world view) in a theory of education.

The writer cites research concluding that external, not internal, factors are responsible for the repressive and inhibitory behavior in the creative and educational performance of women. She stresses that the language of education, which contains implicit values, beliefs, and attitudes, must be examined because it is a cognitive instrument and is inculcating the commonly accepted behavior of women. Dr. Viera contends that the "language of oppression" in the educational curriculum must be dispelled.

Author's Recommendations

- Additional research conferences, such as the meeting sponsored by the Women's Research Program at NIE, should be encouraged.
- Hispanic female researchers, educators, and writers should dispel myths of male superiority previously created by male researchers.
- Women should stress that the goal of school curriculums should be cognition rather than the assimilation of subject matter, which may condition performance because of the myths perpetuated.
- Hispanic women should become involved in the political activities of the educational system in order to become decisionmakers and policymakers.
- Hispanic women should seek funds to conduct regional and national seminars for teachers, particularly elementary school teachers, on the emancipation of women.

The final section of the report presents a model for a process-oriented, rather than subject matter-oriented, curriculum based on cultural equality. The model is rooted in the knowledge of the learner, rather than in an artificial or preconceived notion of knowledge.

Discussion Group's Recommendations

In the discussion following Dr. Viera's paper, several of her themes were further explored. One important issue was the inadequacy of teacher training. The group also emphasized that:

- Schools of education have to be revamped so prospective teachers, both male and female, can be equipped to recognize and combat sex and racial discrimination.
- Bilingual education curriculums should be examined for sex role scripting.

- The various settings of oppression, e.g., patterns of child rearing, courtship, marriage, etc., should be researched. (What are characteristics of oppression in these settings?)

- Title VII and other bilingual programs should be examined to determine how they have aided or hindered the success of Hispanic women.

SUMMARY

The closing session of the conference further solidified our feeling of unity and hermandad (sisterhood), as well as our sense of purpose. As Hispanic women, we found that our differences stemmed more from geographical than from spiritual distance. This encounter made it possible to exercise a new brand of leadership and rise to a new level of consciousness.

Overall themes surfaced with both policy and research implications. They were:

- A comprehensive planning approach should be used to develop a specific research agenda.

- Any research that is recommended must have implementation objectives aimed at improving social conditions. In our view, research is only meaningful if it acts as the catalyst for motivating action.

- The ethnic constituencies should have a major voice in the selection of the areas to be studied, and they should participate in the review and implementation of the studies. Advisory committees must be set up to ensure accountability in the written and action-oriented followup.

- Research should focus on the institutions that have an impact on our lives and not on the people being affected. The Hispanic woman is not the problem, and the burden of change is not to be placed on her. We must divest ourselves of the pathological model of research.

- Data collection should reflect the socioeconomic and transitional situation of each Hispanic women's group. We must beware that the term "Hispanic" not be used as "minority," thus creating another melting pot mentality.

- NIE's professional staff should reflect the concerns of the Hispanic issues.

- NIE should explore the feasibility of hosting a followup meeting for Hispanic women.

- The conference participants should be involved in proposal review and advisory committee memberships.

- A consortium or network should be developed to identify research funding sources of particular interest to Hispanic women. Funding sources should, furthermore, recognize that valuable and innovative proposals from Hispanic women should also be solicited from nontraditional, nonuniversity research bases. (The network of a clearinghouse should serve as a base for disseminating information on research, scholarships, Federal resources and legislation, and creation of a talent bank directory.)

- The possibility of developing alternative credentialing vehicles to evaluate the talents Hispanic women already possess should be explored.

- Traineeships should be developed to provide Hispanic women with grantspersonship and research skills so we can undertake our own research.

- The participants should continue to monitor NIE's commitment to Hispanic women and, through Congressional sources, should express support for the Women's Research Program efforts.

GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING OF SPANISH-BACKGROUND GIRLS

Nancy Ayala-Vázquez

Defining oneself in terms of a career is often a tenuous process of balancing one's abilities, aspirations, and limitations with the expectations, realities, and limitations of one's own community. When the individual must balance the demands of more than one community in this process, the experience can be devastating. Not surprisingly, many Hispanic women withdraw from this struggle because success depends on their ability to negotiate the many self-identity conflicts imposed by two cultures. Obviously, this type of role negotiation requires the construction of mechanisms that allow the individual to weigh the economic, as well as the psychic, consequences of her career decision. This process of adapting, conserving, rejecting, and synthesizing can best be facilitated for Hispanic women through a support system with a program combining guidance and counseling.

Guidance is seen as the totality of techniques and services used by counselors to provide for their clients' individual needs. These services can be in the form of information or advice that individuals can use to plan their lives and to set academic and career goals. One of the pitfalls of these programs is the emphasis on the cognitive and educational development of individuals, without taking into account other aspects of their lives. Counseling is the essential component of an effective guidance program and is defined here as the building of an in-depth interpersonal relationship between the counselor and the counselee.

The combined approach of guidance and counseling allows the individual to see herself projected on many levels. At the first level is her own female identity; to project her future, she must understand her past and come to terms with her present life. At the second level, she needs to see herself in terms of her culture. What are its values and conflicts? What are the values and conflicts of the American mainstream culture that she wishes to enter? At the third level, she needs to decide what kind of person she wishes to be. In this aspect, she must explore the attributes and deficiencies of both cultures and decide which values she will adopt or reject. With increased understanding, she can make career choices that are both satisfying and economically rewarding.

COUNSELING FOR THE HISPANIC WOMAN

The first stage in making a career choice is adequate counseling. But what is adequate counseling for the Hispanic woman?

Counseling programs for minority students have been bitterly attacked as failures. The high dropout rate among undergraduate minority students, for instance, highlights the need for more effective counseling techniques. The problems faced by counselors attempting to develop a relationship with Hispanic students raise many questions:

- Are Hispanic girls different from other students?
- If so, how are they different?
- What is the role of the counselor with regard to Hispanic girls?
- What resources do Hispanic girls have that the counselor can use?
- Who are the counselor's allies?
- Should the counselor be the primary source of counseling?

How are Hispanic girls different? They are different culturally. Erikson (1963) states that an ego identity needs to be rooted in a cultural identity. Culture is defined here as the framework in which each individual perceives her role and her limitations. It consists of behavior patterns socially acquired and socially transmitted and depends on interchange between one generation and another and, therefore, on language and interaction. Culture includes traditions, values, and mores of a specific group, along with beliefs about cognitive styles and specific behavior patterns, such as parental authority, children's games, and modes of cooperation. Cultural differences create cultural groups of human beings who differ from members of other cultural groups in that they share a common set of values, attitudes, and behaviors. Within a culture itself, further segmentation occurs on the basis of social class and other differences. For instance, to be part of the lower class is to endure poverty and nonacceptance; issues such as these must be directly confronted in an adequate counseling plan.

Knowledge about a people should not be confused with knowledge acquired within any particular group. The understanding of an individual who has, from childhood, experienced the conceptual framework of the cultural group will differ from knowledge based on observations by outsiders whose study of behavior is in relation to an alien conceptual framework. The outsiders can explain the phenomenon according to their own perceptions. The member of the cultural group being studied has a more profound knowledge of the traditional influences of that particular society, because he/she has experienced them. One can argue that the alien observer will obtain greater comprehension because of a lack of personal involvement, but in the particular instance of counseling Hispanic girls, lack of personal involvement is not one of the necessary characteristics.

Women of Spanish background in the United States are representatives of Spanish-speaking countries in South America, the Caribbean, and Europe. Even though there are marked differences in the ethnic composition, regional dialects, and cultures of these countries, the term "Hispanic" is used as a generic denomination.

The "average" Hispanic woman is a young, unemployed blue-collar worker of low educational attainment. She and her large family reside in a central city and are below the minimum poverty level.

In this context, what then is the role of guidance? The term "guidance" emerged in Boston in 1908. At that time, Frank Parsons began vocational placement guidance for out-of-school youth. This limited concept of guidance, in terms of vocational aptitudes and training, became entrenched and persists today. The increase in the high school population produced a demand for educational guidance. As the influence of Freud and his followers increased, individual counseling was emphasized.

During the 1940's, the importance of group dynamics, group counseling, and group interaction increased. The growth and development of the field of guidance has been parallel to the changes in the concepts of education and the nature of learning. This parallel development did not provide an integrative relationship between the two fields. Techniques were developed to implement the new concepts of education in both the curriculum and the guidance programs, but each field continued to grow and function apart from the other.

Guidance has been described to function various ways: (1) as organized services to aid pupils in solving their problems and in making adjustments; (2) as counseling assistance to the individual so he/she can make wise choices, adjustments, and interpretations; (3) as counseling services to assist the individual in achieving self-direction and educational, vocational, and personal adjustment; (4) as studies of problem children in clinical settings; and (5) as assessments and evaluations of individual skills, aptitudes, and needs.

All these definitions are centered on the counselor as the giver of aid, counsel, and assistance, while the counselee is seen as the passive receiver who must adjust, achieve self-direction, and make wise choices. This emphasis gives the picture of a program directed to making the clients conform to predetermined standards. For the purpose of this paper, counseling is seen as a relationship.

Counseling theories provide a base from which to structure the counselor's role. The counselor's own values and personality shape the counseling style and techniques, which are congruent with the individual's beliefs and attitudes. The counselor therefore establishes for the student a closed unit in which only those counselees with complementary systems can be engaged in a counseling relationship.

The counseling relationship is an interaction between two people, in the course of which behavioral strategies are explored and developed. These strategies increase the repertoire of alternatives that each individual uses to solve problems. Each strategy needs to be conceptualized within the scope of each person's abilities and her socioeconomic, psychological, and cultural constraints. Cultural constraints are expressed through the values of each group. The implementation of these values is regulated by social norms. There can be incongruency between some of the norms and the values that the norms help to structure and reinforce. These inconsistencies can be attributed to shifts in socioeconomic and cultural environments, such as those experienced by immigrants or members of subcultural groups.

Each individual expresses her reality as an interpretation of her experiences, and these experiences are influenced by her culture. Most counselees who come into a counseling situation are introduced to cultural values or a theoretical framework alien to them. When structuring the counseling relationship with a Hispanic girl, the counselor must include in the interaction the perceptions that the counselee brings of her reality. The counselor must accept in its totality the client's "cosmo-vision."

The counselor who structures the relationship in such a manner enhances the freedom, responsibility, and commitment of the client. As the counselor becomes involved in an empathetic relationship with the client, she will share the client's concerns and will enable the counselee to make choices and to develop new self-perceptions. The client's behavior is a function of her perceptions and will change as her environment changes.

This change demands from the counselor a great responsibility toward the counselee. The counselor within the Hispanic society is expected to assume a more powerful role. As counselor, she will be asked to give direct advice, to be a role model, and to befriend and give loyal support to her client.

TRADITIONAL VALUES OF HISPANIC SOCIETY

The traditional values of Hispanic society create a characteristically ascriptive personality that has its strongest manifestations in the religious practices and extended family concept. The influence of religion develops in the individual a view of the world that is passive and fatalistic.[1] See Table 1 for a description of traditional Hispanic values.

People who exhibit ascriptive characteristics trace their problems to outside factors and do not always recognize or accept a more determinant role in the management of their own lives. This personality is also highly humanistic. Life is viewed as a short, inexorable fate in which the major goal is to get the most contentment and fulfillment possible. Individuals are considered to be emotional and frail victims of fate and circumstances, or those to be viewed with compassion and treated with patience. These traits encourage a paternalistic attitude that maintains the social stratification and role definitions within the culture.

What are the strengths and positive uses of these values?

- Respeto:[2] The concept of the value of "respeto" is one of the most important in the traditional value system. It concerns the person's right to a self and to self-actualization. Self-respect is the basis of the development of self. A person must earn the respect of others; to do so, he/she must have self-respect.

- Leadership: A leader earns the leadership role by strength of character. The burden of leadership demands service to the followers, providing them with help in any way. Once leadership qualities have been recognized and accepted by other members of the cultural group, the process of decisionmaking is smoother, but the leader then has the responsibility of providing wise leadership at all times. The power of the leader is of benefit to himself or herself as well as to others.

TABLE 1

HISPANIC TRADITIONAL VALUE SYSTEM

Value Premises	Desirable Ends and Means of Actions	Style of Actions
Man's relationship to nature and the supernatural:	Deference values*	
Fatalism	Respect: self-respect, *dignidad* (dignity of self-respect)**	Personal contact
Man's relationship to other men:		Masculinity
		Individuality
Ascription	Power	
		Humanism
Nature of man:	Affection	
Personalism	Rectitude	
Male superiority	Welfare values:	
	Wealth	
	Well-being	
	Skill	
	Enlightenment	

Adapted from Wells, 1969.

*More emphasis is given to deference than to welfare values.

**See Steward, pp. 144-145.

- Responsibility: Responsibility is developed early in children. They learn to be responsible by participating in responsible activities. The individual needs to develop the ability to recognize her/his responsibilities to the self as well as to others. This quality entails assuming responsibility even when it is not demanded.

- Power: The concept of power is highly personified. It is a value that complements those of respect and leadership and is a means of achieving respect.

- Loyalty:[3] Loyalty is given first to the family, then to friends and to those who, because of admirable qualities, have earned respect.

How does one make use of these traits? Recognizing and developing these traits in students will enable the counselor to establish better counseling relationships. Once relationships are established and the counselor has earned the trust of the students, they will refer other students to her.

The counselor can identify leaders in the community who will be useful in providing needed help to some counselees. Group sessions are an accepted format, as in peer counseling, regardless of age difference among clients. Friends who come together to counseling sessions can be used as the basis for peer counseling and support systems. The members of the extended family can provide a supportive network for both the counselor and the counselee. Older siblings and relatives will be able and willing to assist the counselor. The student can be instrumental in bringing the rest of the family into the counseling relationship, when needed.

The role of the counselor, then, should be extended to that of a trustworthy, loyal leader who will organize resources, and support and advise the clients according to their needs. An understanding of counseling in these terms requires a knowledge of the individual's personal needs.

We are delineating the characteristics of a human development specialist. Such a role demands that the counselor has firsthand knowledge of the cultural group with whom she is working. To fill this role, the counselor who is working with Hispanic girls should be Hispanic and, preferably, female. She should be able to recognize cultural behaviors and cues in order to translate them into the needed counseling techniques. Counselors need to recognize the significance of the wealth of bilingualism and biculturalism as multidimensional aspects of the identity and personality of the individual. The counselor must develop useful techniques that are congruent with this concept of pluralism. Cultural pluralism, as defined by Harrington (1975), takes into consideration the complementary roles that are needed to enrich and develop cultural identity. Are present-day school counselors responsive to this definition?

STUDENT SURVEY

To acquire information about attitudes, I surveyed a sample of Spanish-background male and female students between the ages of 12 and 14. Given that behaviors are but responses to stimuli based on knowledge of cultural norms, the responses of each sex toward the sex role of the other should be congruent. To ensure a realistic representation of various Spanish subgroups in the population, a stratified sampling method was applied, using the variables of socioeconomic grouping, national origin, and place of residence.

The questions asked were:

- What would you like to be and/or do 5 years from now?
- What do you need now to achieve what you want to do 5 years from now?
- What kind of help would you like from your school counselor to achieve your plans?

It was hypothesized that:

- Attitudes toward sex roles are well defined along cultural values in children of junior high school level.
- The selection of roles and behaviors for the future are congruent with present attitudes and beliefs about sex roles.
- The students' experiences and knowledge of the counselor's role determine students' expectations of the counselor.

All the respondents viewed education as the means to achieve their aspirations. Their wishes were very realistic in that they were congruent with sex roles. None of the students had had any contact with the guidance counselor, but all expected her or him to give "good advice and counsel" about proper school behavior and study habits. One child mentioned that, because he had a mother to counsel him, there was no need for a counselor. A few students declared that the counselor could not speak Spanish.

For obvious pragmatic reasons, the students were not always motivated to study. In order of priority the values expressed were:

- To study and work to help myself and my family.
- To study and get married to a good, responsible person.
- To study and become a person who is an asset not only to myself but to my family and to mankind.
- To become a respected person.
- To serve humanity.
- To return to my country.

Two of the girls and 14 of the boys gave marriage equal priority with an education and a career; the rest of the girls gave first priority to marriage, while the boys prioritized employment. Boys were interested in the professions of sociologist, doctor, lawyer, and architect; three girls listed nurse, doctor, and lawyer. Both girls and boys selected a vocational career more often. The vocations listed were cosmetologist, stewardess, secretary, actor, sports player, television technician, policeman, accountant, and mechanic. This information indicates that the junior high school students have very well-established sex behaviors and roles. They tend to express their values in their choice of career. A counselor is viewed as a person who will facilitate these choices.

Our contention is that guidance is only a small fragment of education. An education should be humanistic and should value each person as a unique individual. To talk about guidance for Spanish girls, we need to clarify some of our ideas about the definition of cultural sex roles of Spanish-background girls.

CULTURAL SEX ROLES

A definition of women's roles should be based on a clear understanding of the needs of the individual. The definition should be realistic, dynamic, and viable to enable the individual to acquire the necessary skills that will nurture her personal growth. Only in this way will we be preparing our children to function in a future for which we do not have concrete guidelines.

It is not an easy task to bring into focus, for Hispanic women, the many aspects of the cultural self. Our main concern is with those aspects that have a direct impact on the conceptualization of the collective image of Hispanic women.

Hispanic women, the second largest group of minority women in the United States, have varied histories and vastly different lifestyles, experiences, and realities. They may be rural or urban, lower or middle class, Ph.D.'s or high school dropouts, teachers or migrants. They share some basic and some heterogeneous roots in the development of American and Spanish culture and history in the United States.

Traditionally, through training, early socialization, and education, society defined the most productive roles for women. These roles evolved from their ancestors' interpretation of the most obvious attributes of the sex, stereotyped into role definition and role behaviors. With typical human disregard for incongruities, their ancestors continued to contribute to the stereotypes until women were seen as weak, immature, deceitful people--men's property to be protected by men even from themselves. In the search for a new definition, women still carry within them the traces left by the indoctrination that made them believe these stereotypes. Instead of looking for the definition within themselves, born out of their needs, they compare themselves to men. Have you ever stopped to think that perhaps the role definition for men is not appropriate either? A definition for women has to come from the individual. Otherwise, we risk the danger that our technological society will define the role, not in terms of the individual and her needs as a human being, but in terms of utility and productivity. The social and behavioral sciences have not been able to provide a new and viable theory for women's roles. The project is very large, since our prediction will be based on unknown quantities, and we cannot use narrow and isolated dimensions such as the projected needs of the future job market.

Education as a separate entity apart from cultural or ethnic background creates a Hydra with a proliferation of ugly heads. When a child is introduced to formalized education, her basic behavioral patterns and attitudes are established. The most important and basic learning is acquired in the early years. Therefore, we must capitalize on those bases. Guidance programs for Spanish-background girls should offer them the opportunity to develop and to integrate their educational life with their cultural background and sex.

What then are the specific needs of Spanish girls?

- To develop their capabilities as Hispanic females.
- To learn how to contend in a world where they are handicapped not only by their sex, but also by their ethnolinguistic background.

The struggle of the woman of the Third World is twice as hard as that of the woman of the majority culture.

By definition, bicultural identification implies an alliance to two cultures either by choice or by force. Hispanic girls participate in two cultures that are in conflict. They come from a traditional society that emphasizes different values. The mainstream culture is a technological one with welfare values. To be able to function in both cultures, the girls have used a process of adaptation and acculturation. The individual must exercise a delicate balance to keep a clear understanding of the value system in both cultures. The effort exacts a high toll on her psychic energies. This strain on her psyche will eventually cause alienation and xenophobia.

Each value system demands a lifestyle that is congruent with the implementation of its values. This lifestyle provides the ways and means to achieve the goals created by the value system. The lifestyle structures the appropriate behaviors required for different settings and activities. The inability of Hispanic girls to participate fully in their traditional culture or in the mainstream culture creates a frustrating ambivalence that further alienates them from both the mainstream peer group and their traditionally oriented peers. This limited participation creates a gap between the value itself and the ways and means of implementing it. Without an achievement goal, the value becomes an anomaly, and another choice has to be made between a "real value" and a strategy for survival.

Hispanic girls are circumscribed to their own neighborhoods for socioeconomic and political reasons, but the bombardment of information and exposure to the mainstream culture continues at many levels. In most cases, the information is stylized--as in the case of advertising. This shallow representation of the culture distorts the mainstream culture and the skills that must be learned to cope with this information or activity are not clearly defined or understood. The coping skills developed for use in the mainstream culture should be integrated by the person at the intellectual and emotional levels. Adapting to cultural patterns without the necessary support system creates greater problems because the patterns lack meaning and validity.

One example relates to women's liberation. It is true that the deterioration of the traditional concept of "machismo" creates an unusual burden for the Hispanic girl. But it is also true that a complete negation of such a value will destroy one of the cornerstones of the culture. Sexism, as perpetrated on Hispanic women by non-Hispanic persons, is a different issue from the sexism received from a Hispanic man. Hispanic women have traditionally worked side by side with their men. In many instances, they have been the main wage earners. This division of work has been effective in preserving the family unit, loyalty, and the system of support. Therefore, the adoption, rejection, or reorganization of the value system must be accomplished in a cultural context for the protection of both the culture and the individual.

Throughout this paper, I have presented the idea that counseling for Hispanic girls needs to be conceptualized in a framework of culture. Career guidance using only the dimension of language, for instance, would be just as biased as the use of any other single dimension. To provide a base for the development of counseling programs, more research is needed to explore in greater depth the areas of conflict and to determine to what degree counseling is contributing to success in school career planning and "life planning" for Hispanic women.

It is characteristic of humanity to face all of its problems anew with each generation. Each generation firmly believes that it possesses the greatest philosophy and that it has the answers to all questions. Today we again express, as did Lysistrata and the Athenean women, dissatisfaction with women's roles. Aristophanes wrote his play in 5 B.C., and since then we have accumulated a great wealth of scientific and technological advances. Are we better qualified to deal with the questions raised by Lysistrata? I do hope so, because sometimes I wonder if we are groping with a medieval mentality in trying to cope with 20th century technology.

NOTES

[1] See Joshua Fishman, Bilingualism in the Barrio, pp. 24 ff.

[2] See J. H. Steward, The People of Puerto Rico, pp. 144-145.

[3] Kinship ties. See Fishman (Hoffman), Chapter 1.

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HISPANIC WOMEN MOVE FORWARD—OUT OF A MARGINAL STATUS

María Angélica Bithorn

> ". . . true emancipation begins neither at the polls nor in the courts. It begins in a woman's soul."
>
> Emma Goldman, 1911

PREAMBLE

In discussing educational and occupational opportunities for the Hispanic woman in the United States, we must deal first with her as a human being and with her present status in society.

In any attempt to provide educational and other opportunities to the Hispanic woman, one must begin by preparing and motivating her to take advantage of the resources available to enter the mainstream of life in this country.

With this clarification, I would like to encourage those readers in a position to act to do so, bearing in mind that true emancipation begins in a woman's soul.

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR HISPANIC WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

Profile of Hispanic Women

Who are the Hispanic women?[1] They are different; they speak a different language; when they speak English, they do so with an accent. To many, they are an enigma. It is not easy to understand a segment of the population composed of foreigners who keep to themselves most of the time. To clarify some points and to try to eliminate misconceptions, we shall provide a brief profile of Hispanic women.

Hispanics are natives of Spanish-American countries or of Spain.[2] Persons born in the United States of Hispanic parents also are considered Hispanics if they maintain their cultural identity.

Hispanics usually come to the United States for economic reasons. Thus, they concentrate in large industrial cities, such as New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, where they seek better opportunities. They live in their own "barrios," or neighborhoods, where they feel more accepted. Those who are professionals, or who have some skills, secure jobs and move to suburbia or to other neighborhoods.

Puerto Ricans never lose contact with their country; they preserve their language, culture, and traditions, as do other Hispanics.

Some Hispanic women enter the United States as transients, but many stay and raise their children here. Many follow their men; rarely do they migrate on their own, for they lack the mobility and the independence. Among the poor in the rural areas of Spanish-American countries, the women are the property of the men; they pass from being owned by their fathers to being owned by their husbands or lovers. Their lives always revolve around the men in their families. A young girl attends school only until she learns to read and write, because the parents believe their daughter's ultimate destiny is to marry and have children. These mores and social patterns are followed abroad.

Machismo—a Spanish word of universal scope—is the mythical theory of male supremacy created by men for the convenience of men. The actions and attitudes stemming from *machismo* are experienced by all women, but their effects are more pronounced in the Hispanic countries. It has been said that the Moors, who invaded Spain in the eighth century and stayed in the territory for eight centuries, brought *machismo* to Spain. Moorish women totally submitted to men, and Hispanic women have been the victims of this degrading *machismo*. The North American women have reacted, and their cry for justice and equality is being dealt with effectively. But Hispanic women have fallen behind in the struggle, and they need to do much to gain their freedom.

Hispanic women are still trapped in a male-dominated world. They are emotional; they let their hearts control their lives, thereby falling prey to their compassions. Often they are reluctant even to discuss the Women's Liberation movement, and they lend their ears to arguments from the opposition. Men argue that women can never be equal to men because they are too emotional, too irrational, and unable to cope with the problems of life. Men are not ready to concede their position of power, so they disparage the Women's Movement. They tell the women that the Movement is one of loose morality and that any woman who joins it will lose her reputation. They claim that women's "libbers" are men-haters and that their aggression and hatred are not worthy of decent women. Hispanic males believe that North American women have lost their femininity by joining the "libbers," and so will the Hispanic women. So go the numerous arguments. Many women feel the oppression, but they remain submissive and go on living lives of misery.

Following the example set by various feminist groups, however, some women are willing to discuss topics that, until now, were considered taboo—i.e., topics such as sexuality, their own bodies, and *machismo*. On March 28, 1976, the Federation of Hispanic Women held a bilingual workshop on *machismo* at the Hartford Region YWCA. Men were invited and some attended. North American and Hispanic men and women openly discussed the subject. The consensus was that both men and women are to blame for *machismo*—men were guilty of creating it as a very selfish and immature attitude, and women were responsible for accepting it. The group agreed that the so-called male supremacy (which is a denial of the capacity of women) is degrading, unjust, and impedes progress.

The Catholic Church is another stumbling block in the lives of Hispanic women; its paternalistic practices have controlled the lives of the Hispanic citizens. With the language and the sword, Spain also brought to America the cross of this very powerful religion that for centuries has accepted male supremacy. The religion interfered with the most basic needs and rights of women, and still does. Other religious denominations have gained popularity among the Hispanics in the United States, and these also deny women their rights—e.g., voting and participating in civic and social activities. None has made an effort to develop women leaders. Once I asked a Hispanic pastor why his church, which supports so many good colleges, did not train women to become pastors. His answer was: "Oh, but we have women as Sabbath School teachers."

The social system and the forces of machismo among peers and in the family circle are oppressive; the influence of a powerful institution is onerous. These factors, added to the double discrimination she suffers as a woman and as a foreigner, have had a dramatic impact on the Hispanic woman.

Through the years, I personally have suffered the indignity of prejudice and discrimination. Many times, as a Puerto Rican woman and the holder of a high academic degree, I have been considered "overqualified" for positions that required a strong academic background. In many instances, less-qualified men were appointed to high-ranking positions for which I was certified. This happened with regard to a position with the New York City Commission of Human Rights, and there were other cases involving government agencies (such as Harlem-East Harlem Model Cities). I remember well Dr. Michael Schwartz, dean of New York City College, who stated that I was overqualified for a teaching position. During the years that I did social work in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, I dealt with numerous cases of discrimination against women in factories, in government and private agencies, in academia, and in almost all walks of life.

Mexican-American and Puerto Rican Women

Mexican-American women (Chicanas) and Puerto Rican women constitute the great majority of the Hispanic women in the United States. Mexicans were the first to arrive in the United States, usually as temporary farm laborers. Some stayed on the farms while others moved on to great urban centers like Los Angeles and Chicago. Thus, like others, they came for economic reasons, searching for better opportunities. The status of the Chicanas is unlike that of Puerto Rican women in that it does not have political implications.

In their country, the Mexican women have suffered much discrimination. Until the 1960's, there was hardly any legislation to protect them in their private lives as workers. The poor women of Mexico worked long hours, were underpaid, and were underrepresented in politics and in all facets of public life. Their lives were controlled by men and by the Catholic Church.

The Chicana in the United States is different from her sisters who stayed in Mexico. She has emerged as an activist and has been in the front lines of the struggle to unionize the farm laborers. The Chicana in the United States dares to stand up for her rights and to speak up. She has become a feminist—something unheard of in Mexico not long ago. Cesar Chavez has proved to be an unbiased man of vision since the beginning of the farm workers movement in 1962, for he has involved women in the struggle for social justice.

The status of the Puerto Rican woman is different because she is here as the result of the economic displacement, created by the colonial system, of Puerto Rican men and women. She suffers discrimination as a woman and as a Puerto Rican. Society sees her as an intruder who is receiving all the benefits of U.S. citizenship without deserving them.

Puerto Rico has always been a colony and has had to struggle for its liberty. The women are taking an active part in the independence movement in the United States (and in Puerto Rico). The Puerto Rican revolutionary woman in the United States is confident, decided, and dedicated, and like the Chicana, she can and does speak up.

In the intense struggle for civil rights in the 1960's, the Puerto Rican women in New York and in other cosmopolitan areas played an important part in developing some leadership, but not quite enough—they then were closely controlled by the machistas attitudes of Puerto Rican men. Puerto Rican women in New York have been mostly responsible for the progress in civil rights and politics. They could have been more in the front line in politics as representatives of government, but their great obstacles were their male peers. Puerto Rican women are active in political campaigns but are never candidates. A few years before Herman Badillo became Congressman, a capable Puerto Rican woman lawyer ran for Congress, but she did not win sufficient support from her countrymen.[3]

Needs of Hispanic Women

Hispanic women, oppressed in many directions and by many social forces, are marginal in status. Cultural differences and the deprivation they suffer lead them out of the mainstream of life in the United States. These negative conditions cause them to suffer from psychological insecurities, conflicts, and resentment. Hispanic women need to be an integral part of society. They need to be aware that they, too, can help shape a better world for themselves and for their children. In today's social turmoil, women could be the catalytic agents to bring changes for a morally and economically strong world. Once Hispanic women confront this issue, they will be motivated to act. To motivate them requires helping them in the process of self-consciousness, then providing them with the opportunity to become independent through education.

We refer to two educational processes: the integral education of the whole woman and academic or occupational education. The second process cannot exist without the first, and the first will prepare for the second. So this is clearly understood, and with the purpose of bringing opportunities to Hispanic women, we have presented this profile.

OPPORTUNITIES NOT AVAILABLE TO HISPANIC WOMEN

Although not always visible, Hispanic women are a variable in national statistics. According to a report of the Department of Labor, there were 5.5 million women of Hispanic origin in the United States as of March 1974. This number represents 51 percent of the total Spanish-origin population. Women of Mexican origin constitute the majority, or 58 percent, of Spanish-origin women. The second largest group constitutes Puerto Rican women, who equal 15.1 percent.

Hispanic women are at the low socioeconomic level of the Spanish-origin population in the United States. Approximately 51 percent of families headed by women had incomes below the low-income level in 1973. In 1974 the median income of such families was $3,065—below the poverty level. Although a small proportion of Hispanic women are professional and technical workers, most of them work at low-paying jobs, mainly because of their limited or total lack of knowledge of the English language and because they do not have the opportunities and skills.

The Government has not made a concerted effort to encourage and help women to study and become independent. On the contrary, the tendency has been to perpetuate the welfare system, which cripples society morally and economically.

The median age of the population of Hispanic women is relatively low. Women of Cuba and of Central and South America have the highest median age—24.3 years—and Mexican women have the lowest—19.7 years. Puerto Rican women have a median age of 20.4 years. These statistics reveal that most of the Mexican and Puerto Rican women, who constitute the majority of the Hispanic women, are of college age. But a low percentage of them (only 4 percent of the total female population of Spanish origin up to 34 years of age) are enrolled in college.

A large number of the college enrollees become dropouts. Lack of supportive services and of proper and attainable childcare force these women to leave college despite their motivation.

There are some occupational training and educational opportunities, but, unfortunately, these opportunities do not reach the Hispanic women. Opportunities to study, i.e., scholarships, fellowships, and other types of financial assistance, often are denied to Hispanic women. Career counseling services, which include advice about how to apply for assistance, are not accessible to them.

Community college and university courses are not designed for Hispanic women. Some of the institutions receive funds for special programs for low-income minority women, including the Hispanics; but these programs are so out of touch with reality, so poorly structured, that they do not serve the purposes for which they were created. A well-known community college in the Hartford area is implementing a program for minority women that is not adapted to the needs of the students. The curriculum includes the same traditional courses in secretarial sciences, teaching, and social services. The administration is out of touch with the national trend toward nontraditional jobs and vocational training. Basic needs, such as helpful counseling from the beginning and tutoring in language skills, are not included in the program.

Numerous other cases can be cited. For example, in one of my community college classes, there were 46 women of different educational levels and backgrounds. All were of Hispanic heritage, and most were welfare recipients aspiring to improve themselves and become independent. The course, sponsored by an insurance company, was part of a special program for Hispanic women whose basic need was to acquire the fundamental tools for communicating effectively in English and Spanish. I strongly recommended 1-year intensive courses in both languages before the implementation of the regular curriculum. One of the students, Isabel Montano (assumed name), is typical of the disadvantaged Hispanic woman student and her problems. Her ambition was to become a policewoman, but she was deficient in English and, therefore, was unable to take the police department test. She and the other students struggled during the year with texts in English, which were hard for them to understand. Isabel Montano had the potential of being a policewoman, but, frustrated, she dropped out of college. She had given up. Her aspirations are shattered, and she will go on being a "welfare mother," as do many other women. Many women who begin the special program become disoriented and have difficulties in cognition because they lack proficiency in the English language. The multiple problems they face from day to day make it impossible for them to continue attending classes, and they drop out. Given the opportunity, some will return, but many will not.

Other problems of Hispanic women going to college included lack of dependable childcare services, not receiving stipends on time, lack of dependable transportation, problems with their husbands, and family health problems. Women also must be helped to cope with these problems if they are to become well-qualified, independent people.

The plight of Hispanic women does not end at home or in college; it follows them to the job market. There, too, they face discrimination and, for unfounded reasons, are rejected. Sometimes it is because they speak with an accent; even if they speak English well, they are not given the same opportunities as others because they are different. If they have obtained training through special programs for minority women, the degrees or certificates are not given the same value, and there is a stigma attached to them. The Hispanic women are the victims of the existing prejudiced society.

A survey of the educational facilities of the State of Connecticut indicates that they are not reaching the Hispanic women. Statistics available indicate the number of women students in the various institutions, but there are no figures for Hispanic women. There are 20 private undergraduate colleges in Connecticut and 23 publicly supported undergraduate colleges, including 4 state colleges, 12 community colleges, and 4 technical colleges. Connecticut has 20 approved graduate institutions and 17 approved teacher certification programs. There are 10 sources of information, but they do not serve the Spanish-speaking population. Hispanic women are not aware of financial aid sources because there is no outreach effort for the Spanish-speaking community.

Why educational institutions keep to themselves the information and the services they are supposed to render is not known. However, the population they are avoiding has rights to the services, especially in an area as sensitive and important for progress as educational and occupational opportunities.

Some resources are designed to help the women toward an integral education. Continuing education courses are offered throughout the United States, as are services and programs for the adult woman. These programs have been in existence for over 10 years, and they are estimated to exceed 500. There is an extensive list of services directed to meet women's needs, including counseling, childcare facilities, programs for community action, designs for self-guidance, and programs for low-income women, women offenders, union women, and others.

Colleges and universities receive funds from the Government to implement programs for minority students. The author has chosen, at random, some programs that are close to the Spanish-speaking community in Connecticut:

- Hartford College for Women, West Hartford, and its excellent counseling center; Talent Bank for Teachers.
- University of Connecticut, Storrs; Women's Studies Program; Summer Program: CEMS (Committee for Education of Minority Students); Upward Bound.
- University of Hartford, West Hartford; Continuing Education Program and Women's Center.
- Greater Hartford Community College, Hartford.

There are some resources that do not serve Hispanic women at present, but that could be extended to meet their particular needs.

- CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) of the Greater Hartford Region of Connecticut is not serving Hispanic women.
- New Careers, funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, is not addressing itself to its purpose or to Hispanic women.
- Title IX of the Education Act of 1972 has had little impact on Hispanic women and could be a good subject for research and further development.
- According to the report from the Ford Foundation on activities related to opportunities for women, nothing is being done for the Hispanic women in terms of: (1) building leadership; (2) possibilities in advanced research, learning centers, and in legal education; (3) women in the profession; (4) higher education; and (5) other areas.
- There are many publications offering attractive opportunities, but they are not printed in Spanish. Also, the publications in English do not circulate to the Spanish-speaking women who know English and could use what is being offered. Examples are the series of New Careers, related to the program of the same title, and the newsletter on Women in Legal Education, American Association of Law Schools.

- Good institutions exclusively established to further women's programs, such as the YWCA, have not, in the past, served Hispanic women. Of 2,000 delegates at the 1976 National YWCA convention at the University of Notre Dame, only 32 were Hispanics. The Hartford Region YWCA is attempting to correct this deficiency by establishing a subcommittee of Hispanic women and a pilot program of outreach to Hispanic women in Hartford.

- Excellent tools of consciousness raising, much needed by the Hispanic women, are not available to them. The Women's Rights Address Book, a list of 60 national groups and agencies that offer help with the problems women face, has been printed in English only. In 1975, the Media Center in New York City published a list of recommended print and nonprint materials for women, which included 200 titles in 12 categories. It is a comprehensive list of books and other publications that would help the Hispanic women keep abreast of the multitude of new opportunities and that would inform them of their rights in important facets of life, e.g., legislation, politics, economy, banking, credit unions, and education. But again, this publication is not available in Spanish.

If these and other relevant resources are not extended to the Hispanic women, then we are fighting the battle for equality in vain.

CONCLUSION

"No hay peor lucha que la que no se hace." The worst struggle is not to struggle at all—a Mexican popular proverb.

Life for women today is a struggle if they become aware of the inequities in society and choose to fight for a place. But what about the Hispanic women who are not conscious of the disadvantages that they encounter? They are in a marginal status; escape is difficult. They are a minority within a minority. There are exceptions—those who, through luck and determination, have been able to get into the mainstream of society. They either have completed college and entered careers or have established businesses. However, the socioeconomic level of the majority of the Hispanic women is low.

The constant feelings of deprivation have a dramatic impact on these women. Ingrained in them are negative self-images and a sense of inferiority; they see themselves as nonentities whose only alternative for survival is public assistance. The lack of understanding and the abusive treatment they suffer in their daily contacts augment their insecurity. Society fails to accept them as they are and to understand their predicament. When planning for the Hispanic women, primary consideration should be given to their language problems and to the low socioeconomic status within the North American structure. The dependency and isolation of many Hispanic women result in empty and monotonous lives. They have little recreation or motivation for improvement. Hispanic men have their recreation: the bars, the tertulias with their amigos, dominoes, sports, etc. One of the few outlets Hispanic women have is to listen to soap opera, which usually takes them out of reality. Women go on living, taking care of their many responsibilities as mothers, wives, and housekeepers—resigned and without any alternatives.

Hispanic women are unattached and disenfranchised. The limited opportunities to develop skills, the culturally deprived environment of their "barrios," and the limited social experiences weigh on them so much that they feel powerless. They are criticized for lack of involvement, with no consideration given to the causes. Their lack of concern for education and for self-improvement is understandable in the context of their lives.

We cannot talk of educating the Hispanic woman without giving special attention to her as a person. Society should feel its responsibility and help her become aware of her potential, her rights, and the existence of other alternatives. She first must be set free from herself. The Hispanic woman can rise above her lower class status and related problems only with a concerted and sincere effort from the Government. The Hispanic women who have become successful and who are willing to help can become partners of the Government. In every community, there are grassroots and professional leaders who could be approached to help Hispanic women achieve their true potentials.

The majority of the Hispanic women in the Nation are Chicanas and Puerto Ricans, and to both groups the U.S. Government has a debt of social responsibility and historical significance. The best way to pay this debt would be to rectify the past, which many Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are not willing to forget.

The debt to the Chicanas goes back to the acquisition of large portions of Mexican territory in the 19th-century invasion of Mexico. The debt to the Puerto Ricans has a deeper implication; the political situation in Puerto Rico affects the life of these people in the Island and on the mainland. In 1898, Puerto Rico had emerged as an autonomous country and a well-defined national group. When the United States took Puerto Rico as a booty of war as a consequence of the Treaty of Paris, it imposed an Anglo-Saxon culture over a Latin culture. Puerto Rico's destiny was changed, and the damage brought upon the country is immeasurable.

The United States should meet its moral obligation by an act of historic rectification—by righting a wrong. It is unwise and unfair to celebrate 200 years of democracy without standing up for the rights of all people who are created equal and have a right to the pursuit of happiness and freedom. The Puerto Rican woman feels inferior and suffers the adverse effects of colonialism as well as all the other elements of oppression. She comes from a rich heritage. Her culture is not understood, and this gives her a sense of uncertainty. Even her nonverbal communication is misinterpreted. Despite these negative factors, there have been outstanding women in politics and education. In general, the potential of the Puerto Rican woman is untapped.

Fortunately, there are some Puerto Rican women who are willing to become partners in a plan of rectification for the Puerto Ricans and the Chicanas without blaming the people of this country for the actions of the Government. Given the opportunity, they will be motivated to act. By raising their standards and upgrading them, we will be preparing them to become partners for change.

We are hereby recommending a series of short- and long-range goals.

The soil must be tilled first for the harvest. Women's influence on their children, especially in the formative years, is recognized by educators and sociologists. By helping the Hispanic woman to become a person in her own right—morally strong, educated, informed, and involved—we will take a step toward helping future generations.

Of more immediate relevance, the Hispanic woman can become a positive force in the solution of today's pressing problems. When we consider the expenditure for the creation of a Hispanic Women's National Bureau and of local Hispanic Women's Resource Centers, we come to the conclusion that the possible cost, no matter how great, will be an investment for a better world. The venture will prove successful as a preventive tool and will spare much human suffering.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The socioeconomic condition of the Hispanic women, who come from a different background, who speak a different language, and who live within the North American structure, has unique characteristics. To deal with the problem effectively, special measures are needed. The following actions are recommended.

- Creation of a Hispanic Women's Bureau, administered by Hispanic women, as an arm of the Government, to do quantitative and qualitative research on Hispanic women. The research conducted up to now has been limited, with many variables untouched. Experts at the community level should be involved. An accurate profile of the Hispanic woman is needed to begin to plan for her. So far, her image has been distorted.

- Establishment of local Hispanic Women's Resource Centers under the aegis of the National Hispanic Women's Bureau, with the purpose of creating a network of local offices throughout the Nation, to:

    1. Set a basis of operation to identify community leaders.

    2. Involve women from all walks of life: workers, housewives, professionals, businesswomen, and those who can act as spokeswomen for their sisters and who can perceive the needs. These women, by their influence and action, can carry the message effectively to the public. Young and mature women should be recruited to close the generation gap. The young women can contribute their energy and enthusiasm to the effort, and the mature women can provide experience and wisdom. The mature woman who is single and living alone has untapped resources and is neglected.

3. Train grassroots leaders who have the ability to inspire and who, with a sense of responsibility and commitment, can move women.

4. Develop counseling services on a broad scale: educational, vocational, and personal.

5. Develop a whole curriculum geared to the Hispanic women's needs—one which is suggested by them. The courses could range from English at various levels of difficulty to more individual needs, such as self-awareness, basic economy, and basic knowledge of human anatomy.

6. Set up an intercommunications network through workshops, conferences, and symposia, as needed, to develop open discussion in which men would participate. There are crucial issues that should be aired to eliminate destructive attitudes.

- Creation of a mass media system that would include a newsletter with national circulation and a series of TV and radio programs to keep women informed on legislation, politics, economy, education, etc., and to make them aware of the resources available.

- Involvement of Hispanic women in the planning of the International Women's Decade action as developed in the International Women's Year of 1975 in Mexico City.

NOTES

[1] Hispania is a name given by the Romans to the original Iberic Peninsula. It comprises Spain and Portugal. Etymology: Spania, a Greek word.

[2] The Spanish-American countries are those discovered and colonized by Spain: Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

[3] Two examples are given as evidence of the Puerto Rican men's concept of women: The book Puertorriqueños Ilustres (Illustrious Puerto Ricans) is a collection of 77 short biographies of famous Puerto Ricans, all men. The compiler, granddaughter of the author, apologizes in the introduction for not including many other famous Puerto Rican men. A second example is a folder prepared in 1968 by the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in New York City, "Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans." At the bottom are photos of three Puerto Rican men: a young man, a boy, and an old man.

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Let my verses only be
the echo of the new
world that is to come.
Let my words which
follow in "Chicana
Evolution" serve as
the historical genesis
for the new spirit of
la Chicana.

Sylvia Gonzáles
June 29-30, 1976

CHICANA EVOLUTION

By Sylvia Gonzáles

Part I—Genesis and the Original Sin

I am Chicana
Something inside revolts.
The words surface with difficulty.
I am Chicana
By pronouncing this statement,
do I give authenticity to the trivia
which makes this statement me?

Last night I had visions
of New York and Greenwich Village
where artists gather.
I am Chicana
And I have convulsions.
My head throbs.
Is that reality
or romanticized lies
I read somewhere?
I am Chicana
I'll never know.

My friends tell me I waste energies
on bohemian fantasies
because I've read books
about Paris and Pernod,
sidewalk cafes and cappuccino.
I am Chicana
Who taught me to read?

I see yesterday's heroine
climb a lonely staircase
to a naked flat
where Van Gogh has
sliced off an ear.
I am Chicana
Not far from the reality
of nakedness and slashed faces.

I entered your pages
Muses of wisdom,
where your words protected
my frail spirit.
I am Chicana
Who dares to write the letters
given to me by generous nun
while promising to enjoy hell on earth
for fewer days in purgatory.

I am Chicana
And the words tire me.
What value has my verse.
I am Chicana
I am oblivion,
an appendage to the universe,
a poverty statistic in life's data bank.

I am Chicana
Why, muses, did I taste your sweetness?
Why did your pages excite me
with the pain of literacy?
I am Chicana
Is ignorance sublime?
Would I be a problem
if I did not learn of problems?
I am Chicana
A creation of actions
as well as words.

I am Chicana
All of you reincarnated
into the bastard child.
I am Chicana
And you are the women who sinned
by stripping yourselves of passivity
and with your pens,
gave virgin births.
I am Chicana

And I too have sinned
by stripping myself of guilt.
I am Chicana
And the only guilt I claim
is desiring your legacy.

I am Chicana
I am your creation.
I stand in wait of your baptism.
I was conceived the moment
you put pen to paper.
I am Chicana
Born in the shadows
of your creative orgasms.
I am Chicana
Now, Madison Avenue woman.
give me my birthright.
I am Chicana
Baptize my soul,
give breath to my lungs,
mothers of the universe,
wherever you are.

I am Chicana
In my claim to legitimacy
I cry with despair.
I am Chicana
Bastard child of the universe
becuse you make me so.
I am Chicana
But I know my mother,
while you sleep with your fathers.

I am Chicana
I have not sinned,
nor lied.
Your sins are my necessity.
I am Chicana
Because you say I am.
I am Chicana
And my body shakes in anger
for wanting to be
what I cannot be,
and not to be.
But what is the question,
If I am Chicana?

I am Chicana
And I turn to you,
my sisters of the flesh.
I cry to your cities,
Buenos Aires, Caracas, Bogotá,
Lima, Méjico, Río, and Montevideo.
I am Chicana
Our seed was the same,
born of an Indian womb,
victims of the rape.

I am Chicana
But while you developed
in the womb,
I was raped again.
I am Chicana
In a holocaust of sperm,
bitter fragments of fertilization.
Mankind's victim,
humankind's burden.

I am Chicana
Daughter of Malinche,
hija de la chingada madre
of Cuauhtémoc vengeance.
I am Chicana
A blistering Indian sun
waiting to be sacrificed.
A pale Catholic virgin,
waiting to be baptized.
Each awaiting in the paradise of purpose.
I am Chicana
Who knows that in either case,
death does not discriminate.

I am Chicana
Abandoned child of Cortés,
mistress of Huitzilopochtli
who conceive and abandon mine.
I am Chicana
Latina, hispana americana,
does not your blood
flow with the original sin
of Montezuma's shame
and the Church's penance

for a taste of Christian flesh.
I am Chicana
And I know my sisters.
I see you in Catholic confessionals
reciting the same
mia culpa, mia culpa, mia culpa.

I am Chicana
Waiting for the return
of La Malinche,
to negate her guilt,
and cleanse her flesh
of a confused Mexican wrath
which seeks reason
to the displaced power of Indian deities.
I am Chicana
Waiting for the coming of La Malinche
to sacrifice herself
on an Aztec altar
and Catholic cross
In redemption of all her forsaken daughters.

Part III—Renacimiento según el nuevo testamento

Luna que vas bajando por las sierras
Ve y avisa a mis hermanas del sur
que ya estoy aqúi revivida.
Yo soy la Chicana
La hermana abandonada.
Madre, tú que siempre has sido generosa
porque abandonaste una de las tuyas?
Yo soy la Chicana
Y soy la Chicana

Y mis hermanas no eschuchan mi queja.
Me abortan cada instante.
A veces me abrazan.
A veces niegan mi existencia.
De día me abrazan.
De noche me esconden.
Tan misteriosa como la noche seré yo,
para prohibirme hospicio
en sus corazones?

Yo soy la Chicana
Sé de curanderas y brujerías,
tanto como de Cervantes y la Academia Real,

el lumfardo y el caló.
Yo soy la Chicana
Y sé llorar y cantar.
Sé del café y el vino
y la buena conversación.
"No soy de aqúi,
ni soy de allá,
no tengo edad, ni porvenir,
y ser feliz es mi color
de identidad."

Yo soy la Chicana
Sé de Atahualpa Yupanqui
Corrientes y Santa Fé,
Copacabana y Jorge Amado.
Yo soy la Chicana
Y sé cantar del llano
y los versos de Chabuca Grande.
Fina estampa también tengo yo
por el orgullo de ser raza
de alma y corazón.

Yo soy la Chicana
He visto mis hermanas de corazón y piel
celebrando ambientes extranjeros
enfrentando al nuevo Cortés
con un escosés en la mano.
Tal vez tengan un recuerdo lejano
de la chicha y el vino
Yo soy la Chicana
Y no lo comparten conmigo.
Niegan mi existencia
para no ser negadas
del hospicio del enemigo.
Yo soy la Chicana
Y tú, Malinche revivida.

Yo soy la Chicana
Tu Colombiana, Argentina, Peruana.
Yo soy tierra, agua y fuego
y la madre,
que ha dado luz al mundo.
Yo soy la Chicana
Yo soy tu madre.
Y tú, mi hija serás.
La misma cosa somos,
tú y yo.
Si madre no quieres ser,

yo tu bastarda no seré.
Yo soy la Chicana
Malinche, madre e hija
y hasta bastarda seré.
Pero nunca dejaré de ser
MUJER.

LA CHICANA: AN OVERVIEW

Sylvia Gonzáles

FOREWORD

This introduction to the Chicana is divided into two parts. The first section, "The Chicana and the Feminist Movement: Mexico City and Beyond," addresses the contemporary status of the Chicana within the five levels of oppression she experiences as a minority, ethnic woman in United States society. This section is intended to give the reader an understanding of sociological factors affecting the Chicana's struggle for recognition and full participation in male-dominated Anglo society.

The second section focuses on the issues directly related to this meeting. It includes a historical perspective, a brief review of the traditional literature, a review of literature written by Chicanas, brief case studies, a look to the future, and recommendations for further study and research.

This writer is a Chicana who has spent several years researching and analyzing the status of the Chicana in Anglo-American and Chicano cultures. I feel it is important to the reader to share as complete a study of the Chicana as possible within the constraints of this meeting. Therefore, an overview of the unique history, concerns, and special needs of the Chicana—with particular emphasis on the damage of disenfranchisement by both Anglo and Chicano men—is presented with the intention of provoking closer scrutiny and understanding of the Chicana.

This overview is a condensed version of a book that will be published by this writer.

THE CHICANA AND THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT: MEXICO CITY AND BEYOND

During the last days of June 1975, a historic precedent was set. Women from all over the world met at the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City to discuss their universal state of oppression. My enthusiasm for this event, marked by years of struggle as a Chicana toward recognition on a level equal with men, can only be matched by a sense of defeat at the realization that no Chicanas were officially or unofficially recognized at this historic meeting. Once again, history repeated itself in the name of international sisterhood.

History has testified to oppression and discrimination since the Garden of Eden, when one species represented good and the other evil (and perhaps even earlier, although undocumented). But never before had an oppressed minority gathered together on an international scale to discuss their oppression.

There is perhaps justifiable reason, for no other oppression has extended beyond physical boundaries, race, color, religious beliefs, and economic and class differences as has the oppression of women. Thus, in challenging female oppression, one must finally travel to the very core of oppression, man versus woman. As Susan Brownmiller so eloquently documented in Against Our Will, we will confront the source of every woman's rape, because the human species, physically endowed to preserve and persevere, has chosen the very source of our existence—the act of procreation—as symbolic testimony to the battle between the superior and the inferior. And from that first attack on humanity and on our preservation of it, mankind continues to invent more sophisticated means of ensuring the legacy of superiority over future generations.

The meeting in Mexico City was both exciting and frightening from that perspective. Humankind has experienced oppression since our first recorded appearance on this planet, and groups have suffered within its violent waves, with each group leaving to history more advanced and sophisticated means of confronting this crime of crimes. Then, are we finally reaching an end to all oppression when its most primitive and universal form is challenged? Will this challenge be the final stage in the cycle of discrimination and oppression? Are we on the brink of a confrontation with the last bulwark of inhumanity and injustice? What will survive for future generations? And, finally, we must ask, were women successful in their venture, and how did men react, and did substance predominate in Mexico City rather than token acquiescence to oppression?

With regard to the reaction of men, the conference did not evoke any consistent pattern of behavior in realizing that their superiority may simply be an illusion of their own creation, supported by demonstrations of greater physical prowess. In their conflict, men sway back and forth between true attempts at sensitivity and violent withdrawals into masculinity. The dilemma they face is critical. It was evident, particularly through media coverage, that men have been conditioned for thousands of years into behavioral patterns. This is not easily resolved. At the same time, women have also been conditioned into certain roles. They have been witnesses and students of history. It is men who have taught oppression, but women have internalized their image as logical objects of oppression. On the other hand, can women escape the image of the oppressor when finally awarded positions of power and authority if these role definitions have been a part of their learning experience?

We can attempt to analyze oppression in the United States as a hierarchy of power where the white male commands at the top. Often disputed is whether the white female or the minority male follows in the hierarchy. This issue is without substance. In this country, racial discrimination supersedes even the most universal of oppressions, men versus women.

In the past, this hierarchy of oppression followed an order of white male, white female, minority male, and finally, if not totally discounted, minority female. With the emergence of a Civil Rights Movement, but before the Feminist Movement, we saw the white male oppressing the white female; and she, in many instances, turned to the minority male for expression and, too often, as recipient of her oppression. Thus, claims were made by minority males of subjugation by white females and, at the same time, by white males in their reaction to women's attempts to gain their place in the hierarchy.

The minority male, on the other hand, saw union with the white female as both a blow to his white male oppressor and a calling card into this oppressor's hierarchy of power. He chose to prostitute himself, therefore, for the sake of societal expression. And bearing the brunt of white male oppression and white female domination, he would turn all his defenses for psychological survival on minority women. Yet, again, racial discrimination takes precedence over sexual discrimination in this country; so the white male eventually chose to support white females rather than to share power with minorities.

The one factor that has broken this vicious cycle of oppressive power and brought discrimination back to the male-female, rather than racial context, has been the Feminist Movement. This unconscious achievement has been realized through the recognition by women that men need not be the only instrument or object of her expression. Women are now acknowledging careers and support systems with other women as adequate defenses for withstanding the oppressive forces of male society. This progression of the white female has isolated the conflict of Chicanas not only as an oppressed minority within Anglo society, but as an oppressed minority within the Chicana subculture.

Regardless of how each group chooses to resolve its conflict or which method it decides can best reward its members with a taste of hierarchical power, each of these attempts had only served to strengthen the oppressive forces in this country. And, indisputably, ethnic, minority women continue to be at the bottom of this hierarchy.

In the United States, Anglo feminists have taken the lead in the struggle for equal treatment of the sexes. There can be no doubt that it was Anglo women who set the most humanitarian revolution into motion. But let us examine the status of Chicana women within the Feminist Movement in the United States. The Chicana, along with other ethnic, minority women, can testify to more discrimination than any other group.

First, Chicanas suffer as a minority in society. Because Chicanas are part of an oppressed nationality, they are subjected to the racism practiced against Chicanos. This racism accounts for the fact that the overwhelming majority of Chicanos are members of the working class. Therefore, Chicanas are also victims of any exploitation of that class. This cause-and-effect relationship immediately results in two forms of discrimination directed at the Chicana.

Also, Chicanas suffer within the larger Chicano Movement. In part, the awakening of Chicana consciousness has been prompted by the "machismo" she encounters in the movement. In the realm of folklore and literature, the Chicana is perceived as a woman whose passive, emotional, and masochistic nature has made her the perfect partner of the macho to treat or mistreat as he pleases. Popular Mexican ballads, such as Juan Charrasqueado, pay tribute to poor "Juan Ranchero, enamorado, borracho y jugador que a las mujeres más bonitas se llevaba, de aquellos campos no quedaba ni una flor." And the songs continue, as in Feria de las Flores, where supposedly another Juan Ranchero takes all the flowers and transplants them in his garden. If the Chicana is not a flower to be planted and transplanted at will in the male's garden, then she is una ingrata (ingrate) or traicionera (traitor).

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Because of these negative descriptions of the Chicana as having no control over her destiny. her contributions to the professions and to the direction of the Chicano Movement have been almost nonexistent. This image of the Chicana has given the impression within her own community that she has nothing of substance to contribute to the decisionmaking. Although some token inclusion on local boards and community agencies has taken place within the last 5 years, Chicanas are still largely underrepresented in policymaking positions in public and private institutions. Most often, Chicanos are first to declare that such positions should go initially to a Chicano male, and, once discrimination against him has been overcome, there will be concern for the Chicana.

In the working world, Chicanas are discriminated against not only by Anglo employers, but even more by Chicano employers and coworkers. Chicanos are more reluctant than Anglo males to give an administrative position to a Chicana; and, when she attains one, Chicanos simply ignore her as much as possible and try to make her feel like a nonentity. Somehow this helps to relieve the Chicanos of their own insecurity.

The implications for the professional Chicana are unique. As Octavio Paz described in "Sons of Malinche," Mexican men have conflicting images of women as either virgins or mother figures epitomized by the Virgin of Guadalupe or as prostitutes or traitors represented by La Malinche. Neither image offers the authoritarian role that only men are capable of filling. This conflict proposes a singular situation for the Chicano caught between two cultures and two value systems, in that it is more difficult to explain or understand the origins of his feelings. If the Chicana has been able to retain feminine qualities while occupying a professional position, Chicanos experience a special kind of conflict in recognizing "motherlike" characteristics outside the mother role. Their instinct tells them that a woman does not belong in this position, but their confusion is how to attack a woman who possesses the qualities of the sacred mother. On the other hand, if the Chicana assumes an aggressive or a nonmaternal posture, a man's reaction to her is more clearly defined. Chicanos may seek ways to disgrace or challenge that image to reconcile the conflict, or they may simply find fault with the Chicana's professional capabilities.

Thus, although Chicanas have played an equally significant role in shaping the Mexican-American experience, traditionally we have been relegated to a substandard position. We have been ignored, our accomplishments have gone unrecognized, and our needs have been neglected. Our role has been rigidly defined as passive. It seems as if we have been invisible. And yet, even today there are activist Chicanas who engage in the polemics of the validity of Octavio Paz and, falling into the trap of what he has identified as "the great lie," refuse to confront this serious deficiency in the Chicano Movement and attack it at its source.

The Chicano must realize that he cannot achieve true liberation while unwilling to share his revolution with the Chicana. Together they must free themselves from their mutual oppression and—most important—free the Chicana from Chicano oppression.

There can be no doubt that the Chicano is guilty of a crime against Chicanas when he seeks to use and suppress them. Therefore, should the Chicana seek support from the Anglo Feminist Movement to establish her role within the Chicano Movement? The conflict such a decision poses is overwhelming.

The origins of the Anglo Feminist Movement are within a society that has transmitted, through its many institutions, oppressive attitudes toward minorities. Since the male traditionally bears the brunt of this offense to his personal pride and dignity because of greater opportunities for social interaction, his home has become the target for his misguided value as a human being or reactionary macho. We do not deny that machismo is a trait deeply rooted in the historical past of the Mexican, but it has been exaggerated within the hostile and oppressive environment in which the Chicano finds himself in this country. While we do not want to sacrifice ourselves as the instrument of compromise between Chicanos and the dominant society, can we Chicanas free ourselves from the Chicanos' anger and frustration through the Anglo Feminist Movement, a segment of the society that has been the origin of so much of our oppression?

If Chicanas jump from their own oppression into that of Anglo women without first reaching an understanding of themselves and their unique needs and without demanding Chicano participation in this understanding, they will once again find themselves the peons of a strict patronage system imposed on them, this time by white females. But if this understanding is reached together with the Chicano, then and only then can Mexican-Americans confront and challenge white racism and oppression.

This is not to say that Chicanas should not reach an understanding with the Feminist Movement. Many Chicanas are calling for an understanding by both Anglo and Chicana feminists. Chicanas realize that if it had not been for the Anglo Feminist Movement, attention would not have been given to the inferior status of the Chicana. The Anglo Feminist Movement also has served as the Chicana's awakening to her own condition. So, as Sutherland writes in Sisterhood is Powerful, although Chicana resistance to women's liberation is understandable, she should be able to realize that the struggle for the liberation of her people is directly linked with her own liberation as a woman.

But, Chicanas must ask, where is the white woman's understanding? Does she recognize that if she assumes an equal position now with Third World women, she can conquer male and class oppression on all fronts in the future?

Needless to say, the International Women's Conference in Mexico City was indicative of the Chicana's position within the Anglo Feminist Movement. Chicanas initiated a campaign to ensure their representation in Mexico City. Our presence only increased our awareness of the sorrowful position Chicanas occupy within the Feminist Movement in the United States. A documentary filmed on Chicanas in Mexico City by KTTV, Los Angeles, only succeeded in documenting the confusion and lack of direction with which they approached and participated in the conference. The significance of this documentary is overpowering. Within the context of the Chicana and the Feminist Movement in the United States, will the real import of this message be understood or will it simply be dismissed as Chicanas' inability "to get it together"?

The Anglo woman found herself in the same ironic contradiction as the Chicana as she approached the Mexico City Conference, having to leave behind racial prejudices in pursuit of true international sisterhood. Did she do this? Let us look at how she has done it within the United States. The Anglo woman claims to have broken the bonds of prejudice by patronizing the black members of her movement, while continuing to neglect ethnic minority women seriously, such as Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, Asians, and American Indians. This serious neglect by white feminists emanates from a lopsided East Coast perspective where black women are in the majority and have greater visibility than other minority women. Black women must pay attention to this. In this case, they are not oppressors by intent but, because they are less culturally distinct, communication is more easily established. In addition, the national moral conscience is black and permeates the Eastern liberal mentality to the point where liberal program responses are directed mainly to the black cause. Thus, the questions for black women are: have they also fallen victim to the oppressor's image, and what is their responsibility in bringing the ethnic woman into their ranks?

Yet, even in the case of black women, when any minority woman is included in feminist activies, commissions, clubs, or organizations, it is always under the title of committee or subcommittee on minority women and never as president or chairwoman. Before and after the Mexico City Conference, numerous other conferences and workshops were held throughout the Nation to discuss the issues. Planning committees and program announcements showed that panels on minority women were subtopics and were under lengthy lists of major topics discussed by Anglo women organizers.

Can oppressed women achieve true liberation while perpetuating the role of oppressor? Oppression is violent and teaches and elicits only violence, not sisterhood. The bond women share is far greater than cultural heritage, reaching our most intimate depths and penetrating our very essence as women. Our bond is the personal, and yet universal, mystery of a woman's body, heart, and soul. All women, especially Anglo feminists and Chicanas, have a challenge beyond Mexico City. It is our choice as women, not as whites and Chicanas, to achieve success together.

THE CHICANA PERSPECTIVE: A DESIGN FOR SELF-AWARENESS

The roles that women play and the ways in which their roles are performed change as society and its institutions change. Society has constructed a framework and has assigned roles to the men and women who make up this structure. Men have been designated the leaders or dominant figures in society. Thus, the men are the movers or changers of society's goals. And the expectations and demands of men, whether benevolent, patronizing, or tyrannical, have largely shaped the roles of women. The woman serves as man's encouragement, but is a secondary figure in his drive for self-fulfillment. We need not wonder why the contributions, accomplishments, and achievements of women throughout history have not been documented and, therefore, have gone unrecognized.

Such is the case in the Chicano Movement. As the Chicano sets out to bring about change, to discover himself, and to improve conditions for survival within the dominant Anglo culture, he takes the lead in analyzing his problems and in seeking solutions. So, while the Chicano seeks and creates outlets for his feelings, the Chicana has been relegated to the role of pushing along the social tides men have created. She has suppressed her own needs and desires, reinforcing her assigned role of housewife and mother. Therefore, her creative contributions to the movement have been limited.

To permit women to see themselves in new and exciting roles and to make it possible for men to see the advantages in encouraging women to expand and develop their potential, small clusters, as well as large organizations of women, have formed and are growing. The women of the Chicano community are organizing their efforts to encourage the expansion of Chicana horizons and to treat effectively the problems that prevent them from developing facets of themselves that not even they had envisioned.

The Chicana has a role to play in the movement. The Chicana must have her place in the history of her people. If there is no other way, Chicanas must take the initiative and lead the struggle for the liberation of our sisters. The Chicana is a creator and bearer of La Raza. It is right and just that she give her children something more than the milk from her breasts. She must inspire and contribute. She must love and be loved. She must respect and be respected. But most important, she must be allowed her rightful position in shaping the destiny of her people—La Raza, her children, the Chicano.

Historical Background

During the post-Revolutionary period in Mexico, women emerged with a new sense of values and a higher level of consciousness. As a result of the war, male hierarchy was seriously challenged for the first time. The static, rigid, male-oriented pre-Revolutionary society underwent tremendous change. War dramatically altered female roles. Feminine participation in Mexican society drastically increased. Consequently, la mujer mexicana became more vocal and militant in her struggle for emancipation.

Mexican women began demanding the right to vote in the early days of the Mexican Revolution. Enfranchisement for women became, in fact, a formalized goal of the Revolution. Some of the more active women organized the feminist league, Hijas de Cuauhtémoc, which advocated suffrage and emancipation for women in all areas ranging from politics to intellectual development. Occasionally, their activities were met with violence, such as a suffrage demonstration held in Santa Julia on June 5, 1911. Nine people lost their lives there, and many more were wounded. Because women generally were considered conservative, religious, and submissive, opponents charged that if women were given the vote, the political system would regress to a reactionary proclerical one.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 not only created a more democratic Mexico but also unintentionally contributed to the emancipation of the Mexicana. Until this time, the woman's role was a traditional one, concerned mainly with her family and the Church. Isolated from civic affairs because she lacked education, few women were employed outside the home—as low as 9 percent.

With the impact of the Revolution, the Mexicana was forced into a new situation—a change in her environment and her role. Hunger, loneliness, and abuse, all characteristics of war, made it impossible for her to go on living in isolation. When their men left to fight, the women had no alternative but to fill the vacant positions. They became train dispatchers, telegraphers, druggists, nurses, office clerks, reporters, newspaper editors, teachers, businesswomen, and factory workers. The Mexicana also provided supportive services for the Revolution, such as delivering medicine, ammunition, clothing, food, mail, and military equipment to the men on the front lines. Through her active participation, the Mexicana developed a new insight, a third dimension, meeting for the first time on an equal basis with her mate.

Thus began the suffrage movement of 1910 in Mexico. Both Revolutionary forces and Federalists appealed to the women to support their causes and even went as far as to enact legislative measures to ensure greater equal rights. In May 1910, a petition submitted to the interim President Lic., Francisco León de la Barra, requested that women have voting rights. Since the Constitution made no mention of sex, the state of Chiapas, after a series of conferences, finally gave women the right to vote in May 1925. Other sincere and dedicated revolutionary leaders attempted to carry out promises made to women during the war. In attempts to elevate the stature of women, General Salvador Alvarado incorporated in his reconstruction plan for Yucatan an educational program for women. Moreover, he encouraged feminist congresses in his state.

Legislation favoring women was enacted during Carranza's term in office. Divorce laws were liberalized, and statutes protecting women and unwed mothers also were passed. During this decade (1910-1919), feminist literature began to flourish in Mexico. Mujer Moderna and Revista de Revistas were two very popular magazines among literate Mexicanas. Novels and short stories romanticized the women's role in the Revolution. Music and art followed the trend and depicted women as heroic, without whose aid the revolutionary cause would have been defeated. Such praise served in upgrading the woman's image. The most widely acclaimed heroines include La Adelita and Sra. Hermilia Galindo de Topete. Although the new and more open society became sensitized to the needs of Mexican women, they still encountered many obstacles in achieving greater political and social rights. Full suffrage was not granted to women in Mexico until 1953.

The Chicana Stereotype

A review of existing research reveals a lack of data and a distorted and inaccurate image of the Chicana. The small body of knowledge existing on the Chicano has been collected by Anglos who lacked understanding about the culture of Mexicans living in the United States.

This research has realized dysfunctional consequences for the Chicano because false and stereotypical images of the role and function of women within the Chicano community have been perpetuated. In large measure, this research

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emanates from the activities of Anglo-social institutions, which, lacking counterimages of the Chicana, tend toward unquestioning acceptance of prevailing myths. For instance, educational, health, welfare, and law enforcement institutions utilize these distorted pictures in developing programs to respond to needs of Chicanas. By relying on these incorrect sterotypes, these institutions and related service organizations inevitably are misguided and misinformed. This approach has forced Chicanas to assume an unnatural position of passivity and subservience and has effectively barred them from a full and creative role in our society.

An influential and typical example of a respected book contributing to the perpetuation of false and negative stereotypes of the Chicana is William Madsen's anthropological work, Mexican Americans of South Texas. It portrays the Chicana as weak, submissive, and overly respectful toward her husband and male-dominated society in general. He writes that ". . . the Mexican American wife who irritates her husband may be beaten. . . . Some wives assert that they are grateful for punishment at the hands of their husbands for such concern with shortcomings indicates profound love." This study, used in many colleges and universities as an authoritative source, advances a number of totally erroneous conceptions about Chicanas. Unfortunately, this is but one very typical source book.

In addition to scholarly writings on Chicanas, the fictional literature of any society should be recognized as performing an important role in shaping the mores, values, and even hostilities and anxieties of the culture. American literature on Mexican themes has always been alien, and often hostile, to the original settlers of the American Southwest.

These attitudes can be traced to some of the most notable historical accounts of the Southwest which present the Chicana as a fallen woman and a partner of the evil bandido. These stereotypes have, in turn, been accentuated by the media, which present the Chicana and her culture in a negative context.

In the social sciences and literature, then, the Chicana is perceived as a woman whose passive, emotional, and lazy nature has made her the perfect partner of the bandido. Because of these negative perceptions of the Chicana as a thinking being, her input into the professions has been almost nonexistent. Hence, in her own community, she also is viewed as having nothing to contribute. Clearly, the next result of this slanted image of the Chicana in Anglo-American culture is the exclusion of Chicanas from all facets and levels of decisionmaking. Here statistics are not lacking—Chicanas are drastically underrepresented in policymaking positions in public and private institutions. This situation is especially acute in politics, governmental agencies, and all levels of the educational system.

Descriptions of the role and image of the Chicana in American life require that if future contributions to scholarly research or the media are to be accurate and useful, they must be made by, or with the assistance of, Chicanas.

The Many Voices of La Chicana

It is as misleading to say that all women are alike as it is to imagine that all minorities are alike. There are characteristics and experiences unique to Chicanas that demand sharper focus than has been provided by national women's organizations. Chicanas, like other minority women, are doubly discriminated against as members of an ethnic minority and as women. But Chicanas also are cast as a minority within the ranks of American women.

Chicanas share with other women a concern for achieving constitutionally mandated rights in all spheres of society. However, on issues relating to Chicanas as members of a total community, there is necessarily a divergence from the broad path of national organizations of women.

The very existence of Chicana organizations is an indicator of attempts by Chicanas to attract attention to issues that affect them. Chicana conferences are another indicator of efforts to coalesce and examine their position vis-a-vis each other, the men in their communities, and other women's groups. The National Chicana Conference in Houston, Texas, indicated the vast spectrum of viewpoints held by Chicanas.

At the end of May 1971, more than 600 Chicana met in Houston, Texas, to hold the first national conference of La Raza women. The solutions coming from the two largest workshops, "Sex and the Chicana" and "Marriage Chicana Style," called for "free, legal abortions and birth control for the Chicano community, controlled by Chicanas." The resolution stated: "As Chicanas, we have a right to control our own bodies." The resolutions also called for the critical need of "24-hour childcare centers in Chicano communities" since "Chicana motherhood should not preclude educational, political, social, and economic advancement."

While these resolutions articulated the most pressing needs of Chicanas today, the conference as a whole reflected a rising Chicana consciousness with regard to her unique oppression in society. The conference also indicated a growing alignment with the goals of the Anglo Women's Liberation Movement in this country.

In her article, "Women: New Voice of La Raza," Mirta Vidal has most clearly indicated the mututal needs and goals of both Anglo and Chicana women. Her article was published by La Commission Femenil Mejicana in a paperback book entitled Chicanas Speak Out. The opinions expressed by Ms. Vidal in this publication reflect those of many Chicanas throughout the country. They not only deal with special needs of Chicanas, but also propose that Chicanas align themselves with the Anglo Women's Liberation Movement because the struggle of all women is the same.

> With their growing involvement in the struggle for Chicano liberation and emergence of the feminist movement, Chicanas are beginning to challenge every social institution which contributes to and is responsible for their oppression, from inequality on the job to their role in the home. They are questioning "machismo," discrimination in education, the double standard, the role of the Catholic Church, and all the backward idelogy designed to keep women subjugated.

This growing awareness was illustrated by a survey taken at the 1971 Houston Conference. Reporting on this survey, an article in the Los Angeles magazine Regeneración stated: "84 percent felt that they were not encouraged to seek professional careers and that higher education is not considered important for Mexican women . . . 84 percent of the participants agreed that women do not receive equal pay for equal work." The survey found that on one question they were unanimous. When asked whether married women and mothers who attend school are expected to do the housework, be responsible for childcare, cook, and do the laundry while going to school, 100 percent of the respondents said yes. Eighty-eight percent agreed that a social double standard exists. When women also were asked if they felt that there was discrimination toward them within La Raza, 72 percent answered yes, and 28 percent voiced no opinion.

While polls are a good indicator of the thoughts and feelings of any given group of people, an even more significant measure is what they are actually doing. Women in MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association) formed a caucus at their annual convention. A workshop on women also was held at a Latino Conference in Wisconsin. All three Chicano Youth Liberation Conferences, held in 1969, 1970, and 1971 in Denver, Colorado, had women's workshops. Women participating at a Statewide Boycott Conference called by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in Castroville, Texas, formed a caucus and addressed the conference, warning men that sexist attitudes and opposition to women's rights can divide the farm workers' struggle. Also in May 1971, Chicanas in Los Angeles organized a regional conference, attended by some 205 Chicanas, to prepare for the Houston conference and to raise funds to send representatives from the Los Angeles area. And finally, another gathering by the Mexican-American National Issues Conference in Sacramento, California, included a women's workshop that voted to become the Commission Femenil Mexicana and function as an independent organization affiliated with the Mexican-American National Issues Conference. They adopted a resolution which read, in part: "The effort of Chicana/Mexican women in the Chicano movement is generally obscured because women are not accepted as community leaders either by the Chicano movement or by the Anglo establishment."

In part, this awakening of Chicana consciousness has been prompted by the machismo she encounters in the movement. Linda Peralta Aguilar, in her article "Unequal Opportunity and the Chicana," notes that not enough importance has been given to the lack of equal opportunity for Chicanas. Chicanas, according to the author, are being discriminated against by Anglo employers, and especially by Chicano employers. In her experience, Chicanos were more reluctant than Anglo males to give an administrative position to a Chicana.

This experience is familiar to most professional Chicanas. This discrimination has been a consistent pattern in this author's professional association with Chicano organizations and was, in fact, instrumental in destroying perhaps the strongest of these, a national Chicano consulting firm. It was also the chief reason why many other talented women were driven from the firm's ranks and became its earliest and most vocal critics. The organizational hierarchy consisted of a closely knit male monopoly, and any women who attempted to penetrate their barricade of prejudice and egocentrism posed a serious threat to their machismo. Chicanos feel their masculinity is threatened by a Chicana much more than an Anglo would in such a situation. Peralta feels that, although the situation at home has changed for the Chicana, it is now being transferred to her work. Chicanos, by depriving their women of decent wages, rid themselves of a good future. By depriving their women, they deprive their children and, thus, their futures as well.

Machismo is vividly described by one Chicana, in an article entitled "Macho Attitudes:"

> When a freshman male comes to MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan)—a Chicano student organization in California--he is approached and welcomed. He is taught by observation that the Chicanas are only useful in areas of clerical and sexual activities. When something must be done there is always a Chicana there to do the work. "It is her place and duty to stand behind and back up her Macho!". . . . Another aspect of the MACHO attitude is their lack of respect for Chicanas. They use the movement and Chicanismo to take her to bed. And when she refuses, she is a "vendida" (sell-out) because she is not looking after the welfare of her men.

This behavior, typical of Chicano men, is a serious obstacle to women anxious to play a role in the struggle for Chicano liberation. And many times, because of machismo, a creative woman ventures through life undiscovered and her talent untapped, much to society's disadvantage.

The oppression suffered by Chicanas is different from that suffered by most women in this country. Because Chicanas are part of an oppressed nationality, they are subjected to the racism practiced against La Raza. Since the overwhelming majority of Chicanos are from the working class, Chicanas are also victims of the exploitation of the working class. But in addition, Chicanas, as is true of all women, are relegated to an inferior position because of their sex. Thus, Raza women suffer a triple form of oppression: as members of an oppressed nationality, as workers, and as women. But at the same time, Chicana women also understand that the struggle now unfolding against the oppression of women not only is relevant to them, but is their struggle, too.

Vidal's chief argument is that because sexism and male chauvinism are so deeply rooted in this society, there is a strong tendency, even within the Chicano Movement, to deny the basic right of Chicanas to organize around their own concrete issues. Instead, they are told to stay away from the Women's Liberation Movement because it is an "Anglo thing." Women need only to analyze the origin of male supremacy to expose this false position. The inferior role of women in society does not date back to the beginning of time. In fact, before the Europeans came to this part of the world, women enjoyed a position of equality with men. The submission of women, along with institutions such as the church and patriarchy, was imported by the European colonizers, and remains to this day a part of Anglo society. Machismo or male chauvinism is the one thing, if any, that could be labeled an "Anglo thing," according to Vidal.

Vidal warns that when Chicano men oppose the efforts of women to move against their oppression, they are actually opposing the struggle of every woman in this country to change a society in which Chicanos themselves are oppressed. They are saying to 51 percent of this country's population that they have no right to fight for their liberation. Moreover, they are denying one half of La Raza this basic right. They are denying Raza women, who are triply oppressed, the right to struggle around their specific, real, and immediate needs. "In essence, they are doing just what the white male rulers of this country have done. The while male rulers want Chicanas to accept their oppression because they understand that when Chicanas begin a movement demanding legal abortions, childcare, and equal pay for equal work, this movement will pose a real threat to their ability to rule." Therefore, Vidal further defines the real issue of women's liberation as fighting the established female role in society which has kept women enslaved as human beings. And this effort is especially thwarted by the news media which portray women's liberation people as "karate-chopping, man-hating hippies."

Among the many distortions about the Feminist Movement listed by Vidal is the argument that women are simply fighting against men. Thus, since the Feminist Movement is considered antimale, Chicanas attempting to organize against their own oppression are accused of trying to divide the Chicano Movement. While it is true that unity for La Raza is the basic foundation of the Chicano Movement, an appeal for unity based on the continued submission of women is a false one. When Chicano men talk about maintaining la familia and the cultural heritage of La Raza, they are, in fact, talking about maintaining the age-old concept of keeping the woman barefoot, pregnant, and in the kitchen. On the basis of the subordination of women there can be no real unity. The only real unity between men and women is that forged in the course of struggle against their oppression. Therefore, by supporting rather than opposing the struggles of women, Chicanos and Chicanas can unite genuinely. Stripped of all rationalizations, when Chicanos deny support to the independent organization of Chicanas, they are simply saying that Chicanas are not oppressed.

Chicanas are oppressed, and the battles they are now waging and will wage in the future are for things they need: the right to legal abortions, the right to adequate childcare, the right to contraceptive information and devices, the right to decide how many children they want. In short, they are asking for the right to control their own bodies. Vidal concludes that the struggle for women's liberation is the Chicana's struggle; and only a strong, independent Chicana Movement as part of the general Women's Liberation Movement and as part of the movement of La Raza can ensure its success.

Mrs. Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez, in her article "Soy Chicana Primero," printed in El Cuaderno of La Academia de la Nueva Raza, asserts that the Chicana has become a serious observer of the Raza movement. She feels that, although some of our sisters have been attracted to the Anglo liberation movement, Chicanas are not comfortable within their ranks. "We want to be a Chicana primero; we want to walk hand in hand with the Chicano brothers, with our children, our viejitos, our familia de La Raza."

Longeaux y Vásquez cites the commonly held belief that a radical Chicana may lose some of her femininity. She and all Chicanas question this as we look at world struggles. "After all," she says, "we have seen the Vietnamese woman fight for survival with a gun in her hand and a child sucking on her breast on her other arm. She is certainly feminine. Also, our mothers and grandmothers still recall how they fought with their men in the Mexican revolution and were brave and beautiful."

To discuss the Chicana, Chicanas have to be informed. Vásquez urges that they study the white Women's Movement to discover some answers of their own. She feels a basic analysis, not just rhetoric, is required. When examining the issues of the white Women's Liberation Movement, it is not difficult to relate to a struggle. However, she adds, "we understand this because the Raza people are not newcomers to struggles; we can sympathize with many basic struggles." She continues, "It is not our business as Chicanas to identify with the white women's liberation movement as a homebase for working with our people." She strongly warns that Raza is our home ground and family, and we have basic issues and grievances as people, as a movement. Vásquez' thesis is that within the white Women's Liberation Movement there are issues relevant to the materialistic, competitive society of the gringo. Society is only able to function through the sharpening of wits and the development of the instinct for rivalry. For this same dominant society to arrive at a point where there is now a Women's Liberation Movement is dangerous because the social structure may develop schisms and competition between males and females. This competitive philosophy can lead to the conclusion that the man is the enemy, thus creating conflict of the sexes.

Sutherland, in Sisterhood is Powerful, appeals to Anglo women to respond to this question. Her words are a call for Anglo women to understand the context in which the Chicana must achieve her liberation; this context is that of a colonized group. The Chicana's oppression as a woman comes after the oppression suffered by both male and female. The Chicana, according to Sutherland, feels strongly that she must side with her man, who is fighting a hostile world daily. The Chicana fears to become another oppressor of the Chicano. Besides, the author points out, the Chicana, in the context of her culture, does not necessarily see herself as the oppressed one. In fact, in most cases, it is the woman who makes many of the important decisions. This role is usually recognized only in private to protect the man. Sutherland cites María Varela, a Chicana, who stresses the role of the woman as the center of the family and its source of strength. The Chicana feels that this role is important for the survival of her people. Sutherland concludes with the suggestion that even though the Chicana's apparent resistance to women's liberation is understandable, she should be able to realize that the struggle for the liberation of her people is directly linked with her own liberation as a woman.

There is no dominant Chicana perspective; instead, there are several different facets that have not yet become complementary so Chicanas of varying persuasions can cooperate at a faster pace than they can pull apart. Chicanas need to learn more about the underlying processes that hinder their development and, by extension, that of Chicano communities.

Chicana growth is greatly dependent on original, innovative, and insightful research into the everyday experiences of Chicanas, whether in the barrio, colleges, and universities, or in their relations with public service agencies and institutions, including schools, welfare, immigration, law enforcement, and legislation. They must be aware of the contributions of women such as María Urquides, Graciela Olivárez, Deluvina Hernández, Julie Ruiz, Polly Baca Barragán, Gracia Molina de Pick, Mari Luci Jaramillo, Marta Bernal, Marta Sotomayor, Priscilla Salazar, Marta Cotero, Lilia Aceves, Rosie Castro, and so many more. They must look to the efforts of these women in understanding the intricacies of the social system in which they must function as individuals and as members of the Chicano cultural pattern. For a broader and more personal understanding of the obstacles, experiences, and feelings of Chicanas in reaching their self-awareness as women and as members of a unique cultural group, the following selected perspectives are provided.

Dr. Blandina Cárdenas, Rockefeller Fellow, Office of Senator Walter Mondale, Washington, D.C., said:

> Whether Chicanos survive as a people in the United States will ultimately depend, in my opinion, on the sensitivity and vision which we bring to the formulation of a new social contract between Chicano men and women. Chicanas have long known the difference between giving and submitting. The understanding of that difference allowed our grandmothers and our mothers to emerge as strong positive human beings carrying on the most important business of Chicano life—that of maintaining rich and satisfying relationships as human beings.
>
> Today many of us are engaged in a multiplicity of additional concerns. I would hope that the wisdom of our "abuelas" would prevail and that we would continue to know the difference between giving and submitting.
>
> Chicanas, too, must approach the task with both the sensitivity and wisdom of our past and a clear vision of our future. My own professional development could never have progressed as rapidly and as positively had not the models provided by my family and community been strong, positive women and had not many men of personal and professional excellence provided a support system filled with "respeto y cariño." Clearly that support has not been extended to enough women of our culture.
>
> I believe that it is that "respeto y cariño" between Chicanos of both sexes that will make the difference in developing the climate in which Chicanas are free to realize their own professional potential as the full range of options for realizing the cultural and feminine dimension of their identity remains substantially intact.

Cecilia Preciado Burciaga, assistant to the president for Chicano students, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, wrote:

> At the age of 17, I made my first trip to Guadalajara, Jalisco. My parents had been born there, and they wanted their daughters to understand their world. I, in my naiveté, thought that because I spoke Spanish fluently, I would finally find total acceptance and be warmly received by relatives eager to welcome me "home." I found instead, a subtle form of rejection from uncles, aunts, and cousins who perceived

me as "too independent," too modern, not the quiet and reserved young woman considered "proper" by Mexican standards.

Ironically, I had just graduated from high school in southern California and had been told by counselors that I seemed "too attached to my family and that I should not be so timid about expressing my own ideas." Socially, I was seen as the classic wallflower that never fit into the popular clique or campus crowd. It was a crushing blow to discover that I was treated as an "americana" in Mexico and a "Mexican" in the United States.

The rejection was difficult to overcome. I came back from Guadalajara a very angry, confused, and disillusioned "pocha." I then made a conscious effort to develop an identity with this country and, throughout my college years, I assumed some of the outer vestiges of an "American co-ed." There was, however, a feeling of emptiness that prevailed during those four years of make-believe. I felt an underlying alienation that I couldn't define.

Because of these experiences, I began to critically search for my own identity and ask the fundamental question of how I perceived myself. It became clear that as a Chicana I was neither Mexican nor American but, in fact, a mosaic and product of both worlds. The fact that I had only identified, or tried to identify, with the one world, had been the very source of my resentment and disillusionment. For 17 years I had been operating under the delusion that only in Mexico would I finally feel at "home" and that someday I would be considered equally as Mexican as my parents. I needed to believe that in order to survive society's bombardment of the melting-pot ethic, especially in school.

By the end of my college years, however, I graduated with more than an academic degree. I emerged from a level of alienation to an awareness of "being" and identity. The feeling of disassociation experienced on both fronts was the catalyst for my identity as a Chicana. I recognized the importance of my ability to function in two worlds, two languages and two battle fronts. More and more, each of us as Chicanas must struggle to reach this dimension in order to be of value to our total society as well as to ourselves.

As to my present, as a wife and mother I would like to discuss "machismo." Machismo has been a much-maligned concept that we Chicanas have failed to define in our own terms. For too long it has been a term used as the catch-all phrase for anyone who wants to superficially express the connotations of male dominance and male superiority. It's time that we Chicanas begin a critical assessment of what exactly we mean and perceive the term machismo to be. We must recognize the complexity of the term which reveals not only the negative but the positives. There is a sense of strength, dignity, self-determination, protection, perseverance, sustenance, and self-worth that we must also talk about when we use the term machismo. As hembras, we must not let society think that it understands the problems of Chicanas merely because they can pronounce a cliche that happens to be "in." We must begin to articulate that, just as a macho defends his family honor and his country, an hembra defends her children and culture. Together they find strength to survive, and it is together that they meet in order to fight the battle on both fronts. Hembraismo is a complement and a partner of machismo in that sense. It is a concept that defies total acculturation or total "melting" but strives toward exactly the opposite: that of psychological, spiritual, and physical survival.

Dr. Bertha Pérez, professor of elementary education, San José State University, San José, California, said:

> In analyzing the influences which have provided me the courage and commitment to participate in the struggle for the rights of Chicanos, and Chicanas in particular, the most outstanding would be that of my grandmother.
>
> Ama Andrea was what we called her. As a child I remember hearing stories recited by relatives about life's struggles. But the most moving was that of the true experience of my grandmother as a young girl. The story, as told me, was that in her youth, a young handsome, wealthy son of a prominent Mexican landowner fell in love with her. The entire family was thrilled at the prospect of a union between the two. However, although his family thought her attractive, they felt she required refinement and education to be socially acceptable. An agreement was reached, and my grandmother went to live with the family of the young man. She was exposed to social graces, wealth, and comfort. But she soon learned that all of this was meant for her alone, and her future would not include her family. A decision was made. Ama Andrea loved her family and decided to commit herself to them and their struggles rather than the luxuries of life.
>
> And a struggle it was. She worked hard at everything from breaking horses, tilling the soil, harvesting, to taking in washing and ironing after her marriage. The men in her life, her husband and brothers, rather than giving her strength, looked to her for support in the aftermath of many adventurous escapades. Yet, all of her energies produced only the mere necessities of life. But she continued to grow strong. She was patient and understanding, warm, and enduring. She actively sought and assisted in the development of the lives of those around her. She was the support, confidant and counselor of her family and the entire "vecindad." She was always willing to lend her ear and sometimes an occasional "yerba" for those who needed more than spiritual curing. The profession of community "curandera" brought her no additional income, however, as clientele consistently looked to the Lord for the resources to pay my grandmother's services. And the Lord responded only through my grandmother's continued dedication.
>
> In my youth, I always sought the strength and understanding of this independent woman who had diplomatically established a

matriarchal line of communication between generations. My father respected her and always conceded to her advice. This courageous woman laughed with spirit and cried with tenderness. She was involved with life, and life was involved with her. Life demanded from her, and she was always willing to give. She sacrificed her own comfort out of love and commitment to her family. It is my hope to follow her example and demonstrate an equal love and commitment to "mi familia de la raza" and espcially to "mis hermanas Chicanas."

María Adorador, professor, Mexican-American graduate studies, San José State University, San José, California, wrote:

> I would like to discuss the Chicana mother as the family's most influential socializing agent, if not by design, certainly by default. During the formative years, mother and children establish a strong emotional bond. Mother is the center of the child's world and vice versa. Mother teaches children eating habits and manners. She toilet trains them, nurses them, changes their diapers, and sees them take their first step. She teaches them moral standards, right from wrong. Mother and child establish emotional interdependence through constant verbal and non-verbal communication. Father remains aloof and distant during this period in his children's lives and does not receive the benefits of a warm interpersonal relationship. But relations between mother and children continue to remain close through the years. While sisters and brothers might have been close when very young, socialization along rigid lines creates a chasm, and brother and sister seldom interact on a personal level.
>
> Work relationships are also established along sexist lines. Boys are taught to do work outside the home. They are encouraged to experience sex at an early age. They are taught to watch over their sisters and protect them. When son reaches the age of eight or so, father begins to deal with him and continues the process that mother started—to make "a man out of him." Son is allowed to listen to "men talk" and to pursue activities that prove he is becoming a man. In the home, boys learn to expect from sister much of what father expects of the wife. On the other hand, girls are taught to be feminine, lady-like, quiet, reserved, demure, delicate, and womanly. She learns to sit properly and not to play rough games with boys. She is not to be aggressive either physically or verbally. She is taught to become a woman by learning responsibility in the home and especially how to take care of the men in the family. Mother makes sure she remains within the confines of the home. She must not be a "callejera." Both sexes are taught to be obedient and respectful to parents and adults. Young children are taught to obey older ones. Girls are taught to obey older brothers and to take care of younger children. Girls are taught to serve all males in the family.
>
> Friendship relations are also determined along sex lines. The establishment of friendship relations between a female and a male as

two human beings is frowned upon. Consequently, peer group friendships are confined to one's own sex. As a young lady, she will be allowed to establish a relationship with a male, but only after the young man has stated that his intentions are honorable, which means that he has marriage in mind. Above everything else, the Chicana is not encouraged to display outward affection towards her boyfriend or husband.

Thus, mother teaches the norms and values of the group. Father is not encouraged to participate in child-rearing and, in fact, does not participate. This is especially true for newborn babies and children up to the ages of seven or eight. However, father-son relationships become closer as son become old enough to go to work with him. But girls seldom establish a close relationship with father. Nothing within their respective roles encourages either a close relationship or communication with each other.

Much of the literature written by Chicanas, Chicanos, and Anglos treat the subject as a problem of oppression by males. The Chicana is not only oppressed by the Chicano, but that oppression is superseded by the oppression of a white, male-dominated society. Based on these assumptions, writers conclude that the Chicana is doubly oppressed. The literature on this topic of Chicana oppression which points out male dominance highlights the following issues:

Higher wages for men.
Unequal pay for equal work.
Head of household.
Control of government processes.
Control of policy-making agencies.

Focusing on the role of the Chicano, we can conclude that he is dominant because:

He is head of household.
He is the wage-earner and provider for the family.
He is the decision-maker and protector of the family.

Based on these assumptions, father is blamed for all the problems and ills dealing with the internal functioning of the Chicano family. Father is the tyrant, the ogre, the unquestioned authority and oppressor. However, his oppressive attitude is easy to understand since he is the one who goes out and faces a hostile environment and, therefore, deserves understanding. In his job he is treated like a peon, so, logically, he treats his family likewise.

What is the Chicana woman doing all this time? Once again we turn to the literature explaining the traditional role of the woman. We find her to be abnegada y sufrida, unselfishly giving to her family day and night without expecting to be rewarded. In fact, this is what has been defined as her area of strength. Her strength lies in supporting her man, not in being a decision-maker. An often cited example of this strength is in "Las Adelitas." Literature points to this example of women in the Mexican Revolution where they marched alongside their men. These women remained behind the front lines cooking, washing, mending, and tending to the emotional and sexual needs of men. A supportive role at best! Supportive because cooking, washing, and mending are within her role. Chicana women's strength seems to lie in the fact that she is able to withstand whatever physical or emotional abuse her macho directs to her. I remember my mother telling me that a woman once married, "se debe aguantar." As long as your husband provides the basic needs for survival, you are obliged to give him support and, if need be, tolerate injustices. If a Chicana is abused by her husband, too often there is no one to turn to. She doesn't dare complain to her father or mother because invariably the answer is, "you belong with your husband." Her mother will tell her that "la vida de la mujer es dura y así ha sido siempre." Or she will say, "tú fuiste la que quisiste casarte," as if to say "ahora aguántate." On the other hand, if a son treats his wife poorly, it must be because she is not "doing things right at home." This role behavior would seem to identify father as the most influential person in the socialization process of children. It would also appear that he is the one who is responsible for the internalization of values and attitudes according to group norms.

However, returning to the focus of my discussion, mother has started the process along sexist lines and it is later perpetuated by everyone in the group. The relationships are established bilaterally along a set of ascribed, strictly defined roles that do not allow any intermeshing. Mother has created in her son an oppressive nature and a submissive one in her daughter.

There are many different roles in our society, each with a series of implied rights and responsibilities. Every role is complementary and interrelated. Roles can become dysfunctional when carried to extremes and/or over-emphasized and exaggerated. The strong emphasis placed on the role of mother in the Chicano family and the de-emphasis of wife, father, and husband roles has created a double neurosis in males and females. The role of father is de-emphasized especially when children are very young, because of his non-participation in the initial childrearing responsibilities. The role of protector is oppressive because of its double-standard application of relative freedom allowed to boys and over-protection that limits freedom for girls. She is limited in the choosing of a mate, sexual expression and often times in her education.

In respect to husband-wife roles in the family, the role of head of household and authority figure can be oppressive it if is abused, rather than tempered and applied fairly and equitably. It becomes oppressive to both father and family when it requires distant and aloof behavior on the part of father in order to maintain authority. Father is still mainly responsible for the economic support of the family. This role can become a problem if the economic situation is such that father is unable to provide adequately for his family and mother works outside the home. Father views this as his inadequacy rather than a role to be shared with his wife.

Sexual intercourse is the most intimate expression of the love relationship between spouses. It requires equal and active participation of both spouses. In this situation, the Chicana is, "damned if she does and damned if she doesn't." Mother has taught her to remain passive in this role. In this situation, wife is bound to feel like a repository, a thing to be used. The wife's passivity does not allow for the development of support mechanisms necessary for establishing a close emotional and spiritual relationship with her husband, leading to a healthy marriage and a healthy family, emotionally and psychologically. On the other hand, if she becomes active in her role, her husband wonders "where she learned," becomes suspicious and questions her about her past sexual life. Heavy emphasis on her role of mother prevents her from carrying out her role as wife in its fullest sense and prevents him from viewing her as his wife and lover.

Mother has created a situation that ultimately denies the development of her sexuality as a wife, and her self-actualization as a person. Consequently, she transfers her need for significance (we all strive for significance) which she doesn't receive as wife and individual, into her mother role. This transfer takes the form of an overwhelming and conditional love. This kind of love is evidenced in her inability to "let go" of her sons, insisting on remaining "numero uno" in their lives above wife. While she professes to want more freedom for her daughters than she had, by her very actions she prescribes for them the same exact role she had. Mother had indicated she would like a change in her role without a change in her position. While she may encourage her daughter to learn a skill and attain a profession, these are to be viewed as alternative and supportive systems, "just in case you need to work to help your husband or your family." She continues to instill in her daughter the importance of marriage. Marriage must take a priority over everything else.

We have been re-evaluating the position of the Chicana since the advent of the Chicano movement. Many Chicanas and Chicanos, especially those active in the movement for liberation, have begun the slow and painful process of attitudinal changes. However, Chicano attitudes are not changing as fast as those of the Chicana. This situation is fraught with the danger of polarization, and this polarization will disrupt our family structure. Communication between Chicanos and Chicanas is sorely lacking because too many Chicanos are not seriously listening to what Chicanas are saying. I believe that mother has not prepared the Chicano with the coping mechanism that prepares him for a change in the position of the Chicana. Perhaps she has made his position seem much too comfortable for him to want to change. On the other hand, mother has unwittingly prepared her daughter with a malleable, coping mechanism stemming from her being directed towards the supportive role. The role of the long-suffering mother has in spite of herself, inspired in the Chicana the ability to change.

Ruth Corona, student, San José State University, San José, California, said:

> A Chicana is truly a mixture of love and hate: the love the Indian woman gave and the hate by which it was taken away. From our Indian mother, our people were blessed with a beautiful bronze skin and dark, raven hair. Our dark, piercing eyes were lost unto the souls of the Anglo. From the Indians we were also given a quiet strength and determination that cannot be ignored.
>
> From our arrogant Spanish father, we received a stubborn pride that demands respect. He also gave us his language, which we interpret in our own distinct style.
>
> From these two traditions emerge beautiful people. We are people which will endure, while others become extinct. We are the product; we will endure.

Elvia Astillo, student, San José State University, San José, California wrote:

> A Chicana is someone like myself. Someone who can't be called a Mejicana because my values are different. I am no longer accepted as an American because of my differences. I'm caught between two cultures and rejected by both. I can't completely fit into either group. So, I call myself a Chicana, a new breed of awareness.
>
> I feel the Chicana knows what is going on. We are no longer going to stand around and pray that things will be better for us than they were for our mothers. Now we are organizing and demanding what is rightfully ours alongside our Chicano men. We are going to school, reaching higher goals in education so that we might earn a better living. Our parents are now too old and too broken to do the great task of improving our lives. But they look upon us for this great change because they realize that we are different. We are young and have been made strong by many injustices incurred upon us. By uniting La Raza, we will be even stronger in demanding what we want.
>
> A Chicana is not just someone who has been born in the United States. We are women who have inner feelings about La Raza. We help each other; we get involved with events that effect us. These are feelings which are hard to describe but we know they are there. So, to me, Chicana describes the way we feel. It has nothing to do with our appearance because we look basically the same as any Mejicana or Mexican American. I am Chicana because of the way I feel.

A Look to the Future

One of the most pressing problems that is keeping the Chicana in a subordinate position in our society is that she marries early. By the time the

Chicana is 14 or 15, she may think of marriage as her only available role. Early marriages of Chicanas lead to social dependency and lack of education beyond the eighth grade. Because she is burdened with children and responsibility at a very early age, her economic and educational development is curtailed. Continuing education programs are inaccessible to her. Therefore, the Chicana is denied the opportunity to become not only a professional, but also a part of the decisionmaking process of our society. Yet, even if the Chicana does at least finish high school, she is still faced with attitudes of Chicano society which present marriage as the only vehicle by which she can improve herself.

Thus, although Chicanas have played an equally significant role in the shaping of the Chicano experience, traditionally we have been relegated to a substandard position. We have been ignored, our accomplishments have gone unrecognized, and our needs have been neglected. Our role has been rigidly defined as passive. It seems as if we have been invisible.

The work of the Chicana in the movement is generally obscured because women are not accepted as community leaders either by Chicanos or by the Anglo establishment. This myopic attitude proves neither that women are unable and unwilling to participate, nor that women are inexperienced and unfamiliar with organizational tactics.

Through its many institutions, Anglo society has transmitted oppressive attitudes toward minorities. Since the Chicano male bears the brunt of this offense to his personal pride and dignity, he turns to his home for expression of his machismo. Therefore, how can we Chicanas free ourselves from the target of his anger and frustrations through a segment of that very society that is the origin of our dual oppression? At the same time, how can we sacrifice ourselves as the instrument of compromise between Chicanos and the dominant society? We do not deny that machismo is a trait of history, but it is exaggerated within a hostile and oppressive environment. Thus, if Chicanas jump from their own oppression into that of Anglo women without first reaching an understanding of themselves and their unique needs and without demanding Chicano participation in this understanding, they will once again find themselves the peons of a strict patronage system imposed by the oppressed Anglo women. But if this understanding is reached together with the Chicano, then, and only then, can Mexican-Americans confront and challenge Anglo racism and oppression. Then, hopefully, the Anglo woman will recognize that she cannot conquer oppression while oppressive attitudes and expression remain part of her spirit of liberation.

The Anglo female dedicated to true women's liberation can be of assistance to the Chicana. Unfortunately, Chicanas, because of the aforementioned obstacles, are not in positions where they can directly reach the young Chicana nor, oftentimes, do they possess the skills to do so. A professionally trained woman can teach the necessary techniques for reaching self-awareness psychologically and physically without assuming a leadership position. Most important, research must be conducted. Many Chicanas still lack education and experience in research methods and need the cooperative, but not patronizing, assistance of Anglo women technicians in documenting their problems and needs.

There is a place for the Anglo woman in the Chicana Movement. However, she must recognize that if she assumes a secondary position now, in the future she, with Third World women, can conquer male and class oppression on all fronts.

Finally, I urge all Chicanas to assume the burden of this struggle for Chicana liberation. A Chicana must show the true spirit of "La Adelita" as the Mexican-American woman who stood alone and fought for the survival of her family and community, and not behind or at the side of men, as is often portrayed. She is the "Adelita" of reality and not of fiction or folklore. Let us destroy the heroic myth of "La Adelita" and bring her to life by honoring the very real and lonely struggles of our mothers and grandmothers. The Chicana's challenge, much greater than that of the Chicanos, is a multiple challenge at several levels. Let us prove ourselves more than worthy of our just position in society and in the Chicano Movement by overcoming this challenge.

Recommendations for Further Study and Research

The research needs of the Chicana are many and have hardly been touched upon. A visit to any library will yield little or no information on Mexican-American women. Probably the most significant reason for this is illustrated in the following excerpt from the second edition of *Chicanos, Social and Psychological Perspectives*, written by Hernández, Haug, and Wagner.

> The second area of neglect has been the role of the Chicana in the continuing struggle of the article that we felt met our requirements of both *sensitivity and knowledge* (emphasis mine). Rather than include an article of poor or secondary quality we chose not to include one at all. This lack of both quality and quantity of work is a sad statement about the researcher's view of the importance of the Chicana's role in the survival of the Chicano people.

In the bibliography compiled by the Concilio de Mujeres, no less than 15 articles, 16 pamphlets and journals, 3 books, and 3 articles from newsletters and newspapers are listed. This is exceedingly outdated. It has been impossible to keep abreast of the numerous articles and miscellaneous publications on the Chicana that have appeared in the last 5 years. Are we to assume that among these publications, written mostly by Chicanas but including some by Chicanos, there are none that demonstrate sensitivity or convey valuable information?

There has not been a comprehensive book written by a Chicana on the Chicana, and there are few statistics on the Chicana condition. But it would appear that this statement testifies to the lack of commitment to female needs demonstrated by male-dominated publishers and by the lack of funding sources. Most important, the lack of books and research data testifies to the absence of support and credibility given to the status of Chicanas within the majority society and within their own community. In reviewing the articles written by Chicanas and in perusing articles included in the previously cited book, one must question whether the same standards are used in relation to articles written by and about Chicanas and those written by Chicano men.

Research on the Chicana should focus on two areas: (1) personal accounts and case studies, including biographies; and (2) hard data and empirical research.

Most of the literature on Chicanas has consisted of personal accounts or perceptions of Chicanas in relation to themselves and the society around them. It is suggested that an anthology be produced, under the scrutiny of a good editor, who would compile these observations and categorize the pieces according to the various societal perceptions they represent.

Social psychology theory and personal experience confirm that role modeling is one of the most effective routes to stimulating more positive self-images and efforts to achieve. Awareness of models is especially important for minority peoples who will encounter the obstacles to survival and success that arise from coping with the dominant culture. However, awareness of generalized minority success models does not answer the needs of each particular minority, which has its own culture and ways of dealing with the majority society. Each minority has its own internal variety and conflict. To be effective, the models of minority peoples must represent the variety between, as well as within, the minority groups.

The problem for Chicanas is that positive, contemporary models that might be projected are unknown. Published materials either extol examples such as Adelita, which are not contemporary representatives of this society, or attempt to appeal to all minority women through models such as Shirley Chisholm. Neither of these models is entirely valid for Chicanas.

To permit Chicanas to see themselves in new and exciting roles and to make it possible for Chicanos to see the advantages in encouraging Chicanas to expand and develop their potential, models must become visible. Current literature only serves to reinforce cultural stereotypes that portray Chicanas not as leaders, but in roles of helping and supporting males as they struggle to achieve.

Chicana models that could illuminate and inspire others do exist, but they have not been publicized. A project shoud be initiated and funded immediately to collect, write, and publish materials about successful Chicanas as a response to the abysmal lack of information and attention now exhibited by both the popular and academic press and media. This project's real significance will be to facilitate positive Chicana modeling, and not to produce bibliographies.

With regard to hard data and research, it is recommended that planning commence immediately for the funding of a research center and library on the Chicana. The research center should serve as the funnel for development and resource capabilities dealing with all aspects of environmental and sociological conditions affecting the Chicana, including such topics as the family, the Chicana and sexuality, employment, power politics, the Chicana and creativity, Chicana-Chicano interaction, and contemporary lifestyles of the Chicana.

In San José, California, this writer has conducted in-depth surveys on the Chicana and the family, culture components and current values and attitudes of Chicanos, contemporary lifestyles of the Chicana, educational and career aspirations, etc. The data yielded from this research are both insightful and alarming in terms of traditional stereotypes and impressions of the Mexican-American women.

A comprehensive questionnaire administered to 100 Chicanas ranging in ages 14 through 60 indicated the extreme diversity of the group. It was difficult to identify one distinctive feature of the group as a whole, other than the diversity and complexity of their ideas and attitudes. Chicanas are definitely at a transitional stage. They are engaged in a questioning and introspective process for which the ramifications will be powerful and long-ranging in the life of the Chicano community. One similarity that did stand out with these women, however, was their sense of identity. More than 75 percent identified themselves as Chicanas and, in that sense, felt a strong, common commitment to other Chicanas. Therefore, despite what appear to be unwieldy diversity and differences in their contemporary situations, a concerted effort must be made to conduct additional studies on the Chicana. Their strong sense of identity and loyalty to a group effort make this effort imperative.

A center should be designed to prepare more Chicanas for academic and employment opportunities. The center should be integrated into an educational institution to provide women with opportunities to conduct research to meet requirements for a master's thesis or doctoral dissertation; it should be a functional part of an academic institution with at least master's-level capability. Coordinated activities could be instituted with cooperating institutions throughout the country.

The needs of the Chicana are numerous. To date, she has not received support from either Chicano men or Anglo feminists. Despite this situation, she has pursued a serious attempt to discover herself and her own potential by joining forces with all of her sisters. She recognizes her own importance in the future of her community. The Chicano man has tended to underestimate this importance because of his underlying fear that the result of her pursuit will only testify to that which, in his heart, he knows has been true: that the real strength of the Chicano people has always been the enduring and understanding nature of this woman who is just about to explode.

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SOCIAL ISSUES CONFRONTING HISPANIC-AMERICAN WOMEN

Rosa Jiménez-Vázquez

INTRODUCTION

For the purpose of this paper, the terms "cultural integration" and "acculturation" apply to the degree of adoption to norms, cultural premises, and customs of the host society. "Adjustment" relates to the degree of satisfaction with life and circumstances in the host society, and "institutional assimilation," "structural assimilation," and "assimilation" relate to the extent to which Hispanics are involved and participate in institutional or structural systems of the hostess society. "Modernization" relates to the social changes introduced by industrial and technological advancements, and by women's participation in the labor force and in higher education which produces, among others, changes in the family structure and in the style of relationships of family members. "Biculturalism" and "bilingualism" relate to the ability to function in both societies—the Hispanic and the North American—with equal proficiency. Also, the term "North America" does not include Canada. This usage is to highlight that the term "America" is not the exclusive property of citizens of the United States.

Hispanic women involved in education and various occupational fields in the United States are facing a multidimensional social problem influenced by three related factors. One factor describes their arrival in the United States and defines the style of relationships of Hispanics in their North American experience. It is a response to the North American perception of Hispanic-American cultures, peoples and institutions, and vice versa. It is based also on the historical development of the relationship between the two Americas and the conceptual development of stereotypes and labels derived by each other's cultural generalizations. This factor is tainted with cultural misunderstandings, racial and ethnic discrimination, human injustices, and mistreatment of all citizens of Hispanic countries.

The second factor is related to the socio-cultural impact on Hispanic-Americans, especially women, on their arrival in the hostess country, and to the process of adjustment to a highly industrialized society and to the American way of life. This factor focuses mainly on integration and/or acculturation versus modernization and becoming bicultural and bilingual. The constellation of social problems derived from this process affects mainly the family stability—the core of the Hispanic society—with consequences for every member of the Hispanic-American family and especially the women who stabilize it.

The third factor expands and deepens the social problems already faced by Hispanic women; it concerns the revision of universal values, female-male roles, among others, in a changing world where North American women seem to be making progress. Social issues related to the differential treatment based on sex affect the stability of the Hispanic cultural groups, as do the emerging movements for women's and other oppressed groups' rights. Any socio-cultural changes that threaten the 'well-described prescriptions for sexual behavior are perceived as a process of adjustment to cultural differences with the hostess culture and are labeled "Americanization" instead of "Modernization."

This third factor is crucial to the leadership of the Hispanic women in modern America. It reduces their social mobility and their possibilities of open participation in women's rights. It is doubly binding for Hispanic women in leadership positions; they have to face discrimination from the hostess society because of their cultural ties,and they must be loyal to their own cultural groups to preserve the traditional intracultural values. The Hispanic women face a double battle. On one hand, they are not understood and accepted by the hostess society,including their women,and have to absorb the impact of societal discrimination. On the other, they live with a new discrimination from the members of their own culture who are too frightened or too angry to support them.

The intent of this paper is to explore these factors with historical, cultural, economic, social, and psychological perspectives—past, present, and future—to create an environment of understanding of the multidimensional social problems faced by Hispanic women in the North American society. Avenues for further study and research are investigated to find solutions to the inequalities and conflicting values that must be overcome.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND HISPANIC AMERICA

The Hispanic American relationship with North America is centered on the ethos of a New World comprising two disparate continents, each having its own philosophical approaches to institutions and people. The almost simultaneous discovery of these continents, their geographical proximity, their isolation from the Old World, and their sharing of America have not led to brotherhood. The relationship has been that of parent-child! The impact of North America on Hispanic America mirrors the universal sex battle—the masculine North America and the feminine, mistreated Hispanic America (the male, protective behavior that did not allow for female self-determination)!

The two parts of the New World had moments of mutual inspiration, but the United States rapidly developed power that made it the universal expert with the last word on every question, be it related to family style or to government matters. The mother of democracy traveled South with an autocratic personality! North America has lived with two contradicting concepts: Hispanic America deserves freedom and independence, but the Hispanic Americans are not prepared yet for self-government.

There is enduring resentment against the North Americans with regard to the right to use the term "America." "We all are Americans!" is the declaration of Hispanic-Americans. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which apparently supported the Hispanic-American independence movements, also expressed paternalistic concern for the fitness of Hispanic Americans to develop stable governments. It offered protection to the New World against European adventurism or expansion, but did not restrain North Americans' colonialist attitude and overprotection through direct intervention in Hispanic America.

The U.S. interventions in Cuba, Mexico, and Puerto Rico have been a pragmatic application of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine. These patterns are repeated in other countries, such as Panama, Santo Domingo, Guatemala, and Chile. North America interpreted the history of these countries in order to define the expected course of their future. The definitions, apparently created for the economic and political interests of these nations, were really based on geopolitical factors, such as position of the countries, natural resources, and size, to benefit the United States.

North America has extended its boundaries to exploit other countries' lands and has treated their people as inferior in accordance with the misconception that skin color is the same as race. "Race" and "color" refer to two different kinds of human characteristics, but in North America the visibility of skin color and other apparent differences associated with particular ethnic or racial groups have marked individuals as targets for subordination by the white majority.[1] This is true for Negroes, Japanese-Americans, Chinese-Americans, Indian-Americans, and Hispanic-Americans such as Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban-Americans. White racism has justified the subordination of members of all other groups primarily because they are perceived as racially different. Yet some members of those groups see themselves as white, and they are considered whites in their countries of origin.

The Hispanic-Americans have suppressed aggressive feelings toward North Americans for exploiting the subsoil and the soil of Hispanic America. These feelings contributed to the development of the types of interaction which exist between the two Americas. Once more we perceive the United States dominant male attitude of raping the land of a feminine, submissive Hispanic America! The feeling that Hispanic America is stifled by an uncontrollable power (North America) has dominated and still dominates much of Hispanic-American thinking. This psychological and political threat permeates and influences the quality and style of the relationship between the two Americas, which is characterized by the hate and love of Hispanic Americans toward North Americans and by increased feelings of power, strength, and dominance over Hispanic Americans by the North Americans.

North America has intervened in Hispanic America without the consent of the Hispanic-American people. North America has also demanded sociocultural and personality changes by reminding Hispanic America that, to be part of the technically oriented modern world, it must undergo a radical personality and institutional change.

The Cuban Case

The annexation of Cuba to the United States was supported by some Cuban patriots. But for some North American officials, it became the only way to safeguard entrance to the United States and secure the economy of the Union.[2]

Despite the Cubans' decision that complete independence was preferable to annexation, the North Americans continued to elaborate on the subject of Cuba's annexation. Several opinions on Cuba were discussed in the United States. Some were legitimate, but others, such as the "Africanization" of Cuba, were part of a strategic manipulation of powers—Spain and the United States—for possession of Cuba.

In 1898, a consolidation of assumptions, ambitions, and interests motivated the U.S. Government to declare war against an almost defeated Spain and acquire a protectorate over Cuba.[3] On April 25, 1898, the Spanish-American War was declared as a result of the unexplained damage done to the battleship Maine in the harbor of Havana. This event was interpreted by the United States as an act of aggression by Spain and was enough cause to declare war. On July 3, Santiago de Cuba surrendered to the American troops.

On December 10, 1898, Spain and the United States signed the Treaty of Paris, by which Spain "relinquishes all claim of sovereignty over and title of Cuba."[4] Cubans were not recognized as participants in the treaty, and the signing was done by representatives of Spain and the United States.

At the end of the Spanish-American War, the United States remained in control of Cuba under a military commission with all rights to determine the future of the island as long as the United States felt it was required. The U.S. Government and various businessmen agreed that Cubans were not prepared for self-government, thereby justifying the North American investments in Cuba and their selfish speculations in the Cuban national economy. The United States expanded its control over Cuba, and Cubans developed a deep resentment toward the aggressor. The Cubans were certain that after being freed from Spain a new era of struggle for independence was ahead—independence from North American imperialism![5]

The United States frustrated the awakened national conscience of the Cuban Revolution by taking over, after independence, the social, political, and economic processes of the island. Many North American solutions to problems were in conflict with the prevailing cultural traditions or with the ideology of the revolutionary patriots who had fought for the independence of Cuba. Furthermore, some hopeful Cubans attempted to revive the old alliances and commitment to the revolutionary ideals and to develop a new Cuban philosophy representative of the spirit and culture of the "criollos." But they were not successful because of the cultural disharmony with the North American ideologists who had the governing power.[6]

In 1900, General Wood, head of the Intervention Committee, authorized a Cuban constitutional convention in accordance with the convention model of the United States and made no provisions for the future relations between Cuba and the United States. The Secretary of War, Elihu Root, informed the convention that the withdrawal of the North American forces was conditional on the adoption of such provisions.

The Platt Amendment of 1901, reluctantly accepted by the Cubans, is the official document containing those provisions by which the United States "may exercise the right to intervene in the Island at any time for the preservation of

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Cuban independence and the maintenance of a government adequate to the protection of life, property and individual liberty."[7] Isle of Pines, an island close to the Cuban natural boundaries, was removed from the boundaries of Cuba and remained in possession of the United States.

Chapter 1 of the amendment declares that "the Cuban government shall never . . . in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise, lodgement in or control of any portion of said island." But the United States retained Guantanamo Naval base and the Isle of Pines. In 1934, when the amendment was renegotiated by the Cuban Government, the Isle of Pines became again part of Cuba.

The Platt Amendment was one of the many acts that eroded the Cuban-North American relations by reinforcing feelings of injustice, discrimination, and lack of sensitivity toward the people of Cuba. As a result of the right of intervention conferred by the Platt Amendment, the United States invaded Cuba from 1906 to 1909 and continued thereafter to influence strongly the outcome of governmental affairs through political manipulation.

Even the teaching of Cuban history was tainted for years with the North American version of the Spanish-American War in which the truth of Cubans' participation in the Cuban independence war was shadowed. In 1942, the Cuban historians' revisionist school published a series of books and articles rectifying some of the epics of the Spanish-American War. The revisionists insisted that:

> . . . the Spanish-American War should have been called the Spanish-Cuban-American War . . . the struggle for independence was not a series of wars but one continuous war of thirty years of duration . . . there were never lacking in the United States friends of the Cuban independence . . . the entry of the United States in the Spanish-American War was not necessary because by that time Cubans had already defeated Spain and furthermore, after entering the War, the North Americans had to use the strategies of the Cuban Army and Cuban forces to win the final battle in Santiago de Cuba . . . . The Spanish defeat did not bring Cuba freedom but simply turned the struggle into a new phase with the United States as opponent.[8]

The Puerto Rican Case

In 1897, Spain granted a charter of voluntary autonomy to Puerto Rico. This gave Puerto Rico a substantial degree of home rule, which was the most liberal political status ever obtained by that island until that time. The new autonomous government first convened on February 11, 1898. The Spanish-American War started on April 25, 1898, and on July 25, North Americans landed on the shores of Puerto Rico. On December 10, 1898, in accordance with the Treaty of Paris, Spain surrendered Puerto Rico to the United States. No Puerto Rican or Cuban participated in the official signing of the treaty, and no special considerations were given to the previously autonomous status of Puerto Rico.

The early years of the United States' occupation were harsh. The drastic changes toward "Angloization" of Puerto Rico included changing the name of the island to "Porto Rico" and the official language from Spanish to English. In 1907, the United States granted American citizenship to Puerto Ricans; thus, they did not have to meet all the requirements of immigration quotas or visas to enter any part of the United States. Many years of public and official debates followed to retain the language and cultural heritage of the island. Only in the term of Múñoz Marín's government was Spanish restored as the main language taught in the schools; English was a secondary language.

The North Americans have treated Puerto Rico with the same basic colonialistic philosophy with which Spain treated the colonies—with no thought to the creation of short- and long-range goals for developing the national economy. They have enacted Federal programs and policies with no study or research on the social, economic, or cultural consequences to the country or to the people. The door to Puerto Rico was opened for North American business organizations, permitting them to receive exceptional self-serving benefits such as tax exemption. An erratic boom was thus created in the national economy, undermining and decreasing any nationalistic movement toward an organized and methodical development of indigenous business skills. The "emotional personality of Puerto Ricans" further deteriorated; North Americans severely criticized Hispanic-Americans for possessing that same personality to justify the interventions. These outcomes could be interpreted as a careful plan to impede the development of the indigenous leadership and the balanced national economy—a development required for a stable independence for Puerto Rico or any other Hispanic country.

The Mexican Case

In the 1800's, the United States fought Mexico. The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848 and its ratification on May 30, 1848. Mexico lost New Mexico, California, and Lower California and permitted the right of way across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.[9] The treaty proclaimed that "Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico shall be free (emphasis added) to continue where they live . . . to retain property, to move back and forth to Mexico . . . ." But from that moment on, Mexicans became foreigners in their own land. In the treaty, there were no stipulations about the rights of Mexicans to participate in the public life and in decisions pertaining to their own welfare. Such decisions were in the hands of a government that did not understand the Mexicans' cultural needs. Mexicans were perceived as nonwhite and were made the victims of harsh discrimination.

Congressional statements (from such Senators as Calhoun and Clayton) tend to reflect, to a certain extent, the predominant national opinion on a particular issue. The congressional perspective at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is reflected in the following statements:

> Incorporating Mexico into the union . . . would be unprecedented by an example in our history . . . . We have never incorporated into the union any but the Caucasian race . . . (M)ore than half of (Mexico's) population are pure Indians, and by far the larger population of the residue of mixed blood . . . I protest against the incorporation of some people . . . . Ours is a Government of white men . . . . It is remarkable

> the fact . . . that, in the whole history of man . . . there is no instance whatever of any civilized colored race, of any shade, being found equal to the establishment and maintenance of free government . . . .
>
> (A)re we to associate with ourselves as equals, companions and fellow citizens, the Indians and mixed races of Mexico. . . . I would consider such association as degrading to ourselves and fatal to our institutions.
>
> There are in Mexico not less than eight million of human beings . . . of a race totally different from ourselves—a colored population having no feelings in common with us, no prejudices like ours . . . .[10]

The theme of Mexicans resettling in the Southwest appeared from time to time in the subsequent nineteenth-century congressional debates. "Speaker of the House, Thaddeus Stevens, one of the champions of the rights of the newly freed black people, argued against admission of New Mexico to the union because Anglo-Americans were in the minority there and would not control the government."[11] Similar arguments were used to oppose the statehood of Arizona.[12]

The racial myth about Mexicans was developed as soon as Mexicans and Anglo-Americans began to meet. The cultural differences were assumed to be genetic, so the Mexicans were defined as belonging to a race other than white. The author, who worked in East Los Angeles with Mexicans, remembers when, in social agency records, jail records, and court records, the people were noted as belonging to the "Mexican-American" race instead of being designated as either white or black. This perception remained strong throughout the West and Southwest where the majority of Mexican-Americans reside. As the southern counties of Baja California were settled by more North Americans, the Mexican-Americans were reduced to a silent and dispossessed minority.[13]

The alleged racial inferiority of Mexicans justified the Anglo-Americans' discrimination against them and the rationalization that "inferior people" should have "inferior rights." Belief in racial inferiority was openly expressed by Congressmen to support the annexation of the Mexican States, the continuation of the peonage in American States, the payment of lower salaries to Mexicans, and the exclusion of Hispanic-Americans from the mines of California. These Anglo-American perceptions and behaviors toward non-Anglos have been demonstrated throughout U.S. history and continue into modern times. The North Americans' racial perception of the Mexicans and Mexican-Americans also represents the feelings of Anglo-Americans toward other Hispanic-Americans. Because the Hispanic-Americans' racial mixture includes Negroes or Indians, they have received the same treatment when they arrived in this country.

In the meantime, the influx of Mexicans continued to be allowed because cheap labor was needed. Mexicans were forced to segregate themselves when they were not allowed to participate in school, church, employment, recreation, and public services. Thus, through isolation they have retained their cultural identity.[14] Consequently, U.S. Congressmen continued to struggle with the racial definition of Mexicans.

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As José Martí, the Cuban leader of the Independence War, wrote in 1891: "The scorn of our formidable neighbor, who does not know us, is the greatest danger for our America—Hispanic-America—and it is imperative that our neighbor know us, and know us soon, so she shall not scorn us, for the day of the visit is at hand. Through ignorance, she might go so far as lay hands on us. From respect, once she comes to know us, she would remove her hands."[15] Martí was a charismatic Cuban "criollo" leader who gathered the resources required for the Independence War against Spain while living in the United States as a political exile. He was a man of vision, a writer and poet. He knew that the literature dealing with Hispanic-American countries and edited in North America did not reflect true historical and social images, and therefore perceptions of Hispanic America and its people were distorted.

Authentic studies about Hispanic America by North American scholars and journalists have not only been few, but, even worse, much of what has been written has been distorted, incorrect, and misinterpreted. Lack of sensitivity played as large a role in those unfortunate outcomes as did the feelings of superiority and white racism. Furthermore, the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine required that the aggressors internalize the illusions of candor and almightiness that became part of the ideological baggage of the North American foreign policies. "Hispanic America became a symbol of North American righteousness as writers pointed out that independence, prosperity and security were gifts conferred by the United States upon Hispanic America!"[16]

HISPANIC AMERICA AND ITS CULTURAL LEGACY: PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS

Hispanic-Americans are not a homogeneous group; they have come together through a process of syncretism—a creator of the "mestizo" and the "criollo." They are loose combinations of some mixture of four strains: Spanish, Portuguese, Indian, and Negro. There are pure pockets of each group all through Hispanic America, but in the majority of cases, the strains are blended together throughout the hemisphere. Hispanic America is a cultural mosaic!

The Spanish legacy stressed an exaggerated reliance on personal relationships over impersonal, institutional and/or functional ones, thereby accounting for the charm of the continent. But this legacy also was liable for the crisis in institutional development resulting in traditional authoritarian structures in government, in business, and in the family.[17]

In Spanish society, male dominance operated to a high degree. Women were of two categories. In the "pure and good" category were the perfect wives, who did not know about pleasure and enjoyment and who were not born to do menial work. These women were decorative dolls who ran queenships full of servants. In the "bad" category were the mistresses, who could receive and provide sexual pleasures and remained unmarried.

The Spaniards and their counterparts, the Hispanics, use the legalistic dialectic, but they do not respect their laws because they are rebellious by nature. It is their legacy from Don Quixote de la Mancha: governing for the ideal, designing constitutions that prescribe for the ideal welfare state as opposed to the pragmatism of the North Americans. Their quests have been to achieve self-determination and absolute authority. The dark-skinned Moors gave a very special gift to Spaniards—a relative freedom from racial hatred or exclusivity.[18] In the south of Spain, the Jews influenced industrial and cultural development.

The practical Portuguese merchants, in love with the sea, having no racial prejudices yet greater social plasticity, provided for more racial and religious tolerance in their conquest of Brazil.[19]

At the time of the conquest the Indians, including the Incas, had created an almost perfect communistic state. They had extended their hegemony by way of persuasion and logic to the tribes of Ecuador and Bolivia.[20] When one looks at the old Incan poetry and songs, one discovers a theme of peace and an orderly collectivism.[21] Indians provided "the values of nobility of hard work, the honor of the person, the idea of sexual equality, the pervasive melancholy and the ultimate recourse to magic."[22]

The Negro slavery in Hispanic America was quite different from the Negro slavery of North America.[23] Slavery came to both Americas in the same brutal manner. Men and women were seized from their tribal societies, were transported in slave ships, and were relocated in hostile new lands. But the forms of slavery were very different. Slavery was more congenial, or at least less oppressive, in Hispanic America.

Slavery in Hispanic America was an "open" institutional system; in North America it was "closed." These opposite systems were a result of the dissimilarities of the structures of society and economy in Hispanic America and North America. Stanley Elkins throws light on the institutional nature of some of these forces: "In Latin America the tension and balance among three organizational concerns—the church, the crown, and the plantation agriculture—prevented slavery from being carried by its plantation class. This allowed for the development of men and women as moral beings with a resulting 'open system,' a system that allowed absorption of the Negro into the larger society."[24]

The Spaniards and the Portuguese had a history and a tradition of racial assimilation, while the Anglo-Saxon had one of homogeneity and exclusion of other peoples. Spaniards and Portuguese came largely to the New World alone; the English brought their wives and families.[25]

"Three basic factors finally shaped the differences between North American and Hispanic-American slavery as an institution and its outcome, the Negro American: (1) the protection of the physical and personal integrity of slaves; (2) the open, sanctional and actual encouragement of manumission; (3) the open, sanctional and actual encouragement of stable marriages among slaves and free Negroes."[26]

Manumission as an institution encouraged the freeing of slaves. There were thousands of ways for slaves to earn their freedom. They could be given freedom by their owner on special fiesta days; they could be permitted a time frame in which to work toward it. A parent having 10 children would be freed automatically. An emancipated Negro in Hispanic America was a free man; in North America, he was a freedman. In North America, the inferiority of the Negro was related to innate inequality which was affiliated with blackness and perception; in Hispanic America, it was related primarily to socioeconomic condition and to the status of slavery that could be remedied through manumission.

Negroes in Hispanic America were able to maintain their culture and their religious beliefs. The Hispanic-American Negro culture, as expressed in art, music, history, and people, became part of the Hispanic-American culture. The Negroes did not lose their "tumbadoras" (African drums), which were means of communication as well as unique instruments for their religious music and rites in Hispanic America. Instead, the tumbadoras became an integral part of the Afro-Cuban and other Latin countries' music. In the same manner, the Negroes brought their system of beliefs—the goddesses and gods of their mythology—and used the Catholic saints in a syncretic way to create "Santería" in Cuba and Puerto Rico and "Macumba" in Brazil. Today, "Santería" and "Macumba" are the religions of a large number of Hispanic-Americans of all colors and races. The Negroes' legacy to Hispanics has been their talents, beliefs, physical traits, family styles, and traditions.

Institutional Characteristics

In Hispanic America, "personalism" is the central theme for the development of institutions and people. It constantly interferes with attempts to build functional relations and institutions that do not depend on personal charisma or on interpersonal functioning.[27] Personalism and individualism are in contrast to the functionalism of the United States, where, outside the "barrio" life and politics, a person is judged on his/her expertise and not on interpersonal relations and status.

Spanish individualism is not like that of Anglo-Saxonism; it does not relate to the equality of every soul before God or the law. Spanish individualism stresses the uniqueness and innate dignity of each individual and the respect that each individual deserves.[28] This difference in the concept of individualism is the basis for Hispanic's acceptance of color, race, and socio-economic diversity under the constellation of a large extended family, and the ability to still retain strong affective familial ties.

Instead of the relatively impersonal professional relationships among individuals that are common in North American society, the Hispanic-American culture has the "compadrazgo"—an institution of "compadres," or a network of religious ritualistic kinships formed when friends or relatives vow, at the baptism of the child, to care for and protect him/her in case of the parents' death. The godparents and parents establish ties of loyalty and mutual protection when they become "compadres." These bonds take different forms within the Hispanic societies, expanding their meaning to the political arena, where the term "compadre" is used for "patron" or "political protector." To Hispanic-Americans, the compadrazgo is viewed as a caring relationship in a more humanistic and honest society that builds on interactions through trust. This concept is different from that found in North American corporate structures, which are run on the principles of functional expertise, accountability, and mass production.[29] This emphasis on personal considerations in the Hispanic tradition caters to warmth and close social relationships, at times misinterpreted as a lack of professionalism by North Americans, who are more accustomed to human interactions based on impersonal and universal values.

Mortality and honor are placed under the same constellation of personal considerations. For example, Hispanic-American men will guard women of the family or near-family from other men. They trust only those moral values that are based on the generosity of social obligations of individual and family social interaction.[30]

In the eyes of North Americans, being a Hispanic-American means living with paradoxes, such as "confusing spectacle with reality, the word with the deed, the theoretical with the practical, the form with the act, the ritual with the accomplishment, the saint's day and the idol with the worship of God, the way a man looks with what he really is."[31]

Hispanic-Americans have passionately supported progressive, democratic, liberal, idealistic civilian statesmen, such as the heroes and patriots of all wars for independence, from Simón Bolívar to José Martí. But they tend to regress to authoritarian, puritanical, unrepresentative military dictatorship—a reflection of the admiration for "el macho," "el caudillo," and "el jefe." The admiration for authority and the tendencies for authoritarianism are still so strong in much of Hispanic America that generally what has started out as a revolution against excess of authority centralized on one person has ended, at least in part, in the creation of a new center of authoritarian power.

The greatest problem in ruling by authority—by the man who has all of the knowledge, the power, and the means of intercession—is that it limits questioning and seeking new ideas and participatory decisions. This concept permeates the process of education. Students are not supposed to question the professors' words; in contrast, in the North American educational system students are taught to ask questions, to deal with dilemmas, to learn to define their opponent's position. By tradition, the Hispanic-American has been educated to develop his/her capacity to support family values, not to question them. Hispanic-Americans have a tremendous inclination for ornamental culture in education, especially for women. All women learn music, art, and sewing, in addition to professional skills.

Hispanic-American Families

The family-dominant values of the Hispanic-American traditional culture have been based on two fundamental propositions: 1) the unquestioned and absolute supremacy of the father, emphasized by his "machismo" role; and 2) the necessary and absolute self-sacrifice of the mother in her "marianismo" or "hembrista" role.[32] "Marianismo" means like the Virgin Mary: pure, perfect, superior, sacrificing, and martyr-like, but in possession of power and control. Those propositions are derived from a generalized sociocultural and sexist assumption that implies an indubitable biological and natural superiority of the male.

The cultural themes in the family life are: 1) the mother is the affective figure, sometimes to the extent that, later in life, the son's devotion to his mother interferes with the love of his wife—mothers socialize sons for their machismo roles; 2) great emphasis is placed on the authority of the father and other adults with authority status; 3) a sexually biased dichotomy exists between sexes, with higher educational expectations and status for the males.[33]

The relationships between members of family constellations are: 1) the mother-son relationship is very close, with the mother filling a permissive and affective role for the son; 2) mother and daughter are also very close to each other, and the daughter achieves early identification with the female roles; 3) the father-son relationship is distant, respectful, and frequently severe; 4) the father-daughter relationship is not so distant, not so severe, though relatively conflict-free; 5) the brother-sister relationship is, in most cases, based on male-female dichotomy—the brother is dominant and very protective of the sister. She is expected to be submissive and respect the brother's opinions; 6) the sister-sister relationship remains close throughout life; 7) the husband-wife relationship is based on the "machi-hembrismo" myth.[34]

As a consequence of this socialization, there are some marked tendencies for neurotic syndromes in males, such as problems of rebellion against, and submission to, authority, difficulty in overcoming dependency on the maternal figure, and preoccupation and anxiety with regard to the maintenance of sexual potency and virility.

The areas of stress for females are related to their variable success in meeting the stiff requirements that the cultural premises demand. Their inability to live up to these requirements will show itself, in most of the cases, in depressive behavior, which increases if marriage is delayed until they are labeled "old maids."[35] The old maid syndrome permeates the whole family structure and relationships: the unmarried woman becomes the babysitter when the younger couples go to parties. She is expected to become the companion and caretaker of the parents while they live and the nurse of anyone sick in the family. Her expected enjoyment is reduced to family and religious duties. She is forced to play the most insignificant role in the family constellation, hide her emotional self, and lose all her rights to be a complete woman. If she falls in love, she is expected to sacrifice her happiness and her possible marriage to her duties as a "good daughter." By the time her parents die, it is too late for her to achieve all the normal aspirations of a complete woman.

This "old maid" syndrome is most affected in any process of change, either by Americanization or modernization. The traditional sexist psychiatric treatment--applied electroshock—is the "cure" for the "alleviation" of depressive symptoms. Of course, no consideration is ever given to the solution of the core of the problem—the liberation from inhumane male assumptions.

In the largest kinship system, Hispanic-American families maintain a close relationship with the grandparents, both paternal and maternal.[36] There is an inclination, however, for the family to be closer to the mother's relatives, especially aunts, cousins, and grandparents.[37] This tendency is understood as natural when one considers that the woman's only domain has been her home. The maternal aunts frequently have a close relationship with the children, serving as brokers, advocates, and bridges with parents and other adult members of the family. In almost every family there is an aunt who responds perfectly to everybody's problems, from financial assistance to consultations. She is the "second mother," or the mother substitute. This aunt's role seems to fit the description of the sister's role in the African matriarchal families.[38]

The Hispanic-American family is outwardly patrilocal, but inwardly matrilocal, and the mothers and other female figures serve as catalysts providing cohesiveness and strength to the family.[39] The family is more important than the individuals, and those who deviate and bring dishonor to the family are severely sanctioned. Nevertheless, deviant behavior that does not bring public dishonor is disguised and accepted within the family's closed doors. The family is the largest source of strength and support for each individual member. When extended families are large, they often contain all the variety of races of the Hispanic-American's cultural heritage and all social classes. The Hispanic-American extended family offers exceptional interactional opportunities to the younger members by facilitating the socialization to a constellation of roles (with the benefits of the caring support and love of an extended primary group). The younger members learn early a variety of behavioral mechanisms, useful in later community relations, for adjustment and survival.

The Concepts of Machismo, Marianismo, and Hembrismo

The concepts of machismo, marianismo, and hembrismo have been studied by a variety of interested parties of all nationalities. But these concepts are complex components of a complex system. Arriving at one concept to facilitate understanding and acceptance by nonmembers of the Hispanic-American culture has been impossible.

Reyes Nevares, in his article "El Machismo en México," poetically describes his perception of the roots of machismo. He states that this concept is rooted to the historical development of deep feelings of being raped by the Spaniards. The Indians submitted to the conquistadores, playing the feminine role; the conquistadores—by enacting the conquista by force, raping the Indians' land and women—played the typical and traditional male role.

The Mexicans overreacted to protect the purity of their women and country and to preserve their own honor. In the same way, they were compelled to prove their masculinity to overcome the historical legacy of a feminine role. From these two factors, machismo was born.[40]

Nevares' explanation of hembrismo is based on the passive behavior expected and required by women for machismo to exist. He calls these characteristics "machihembrismo," and they have become marvelous topics for film producers, writers, musicians, and poets for national or international consumption. He says this commercialization swelled the pockets of a few but has served as a mechanism to reinforce the image of Mexican national characteristics that are not so universal in Mexico.

Machismo is described by different authors, using a variety of theoretical approaches, as a trait of maleness through which the man constantly tries to reach self-realization, self-assertion, status, and power and to show his honor, courage, and sexual prestige through exaggerated aggressiveness and intransigence, but not excessive violence.[41]

Role expectations in politics, as in any other sphere of action, require that men get their own way; otherwise they would exhibit some feminine traits of submissiveness and some level of passivity. Any kind of extreme gentleness or refinement of attitudes, any kind of moderation in action, could be censured as feminine. Above all, Hispanic-American men are supposed to have their "pantalones bien puestos" (wear pants well, to show who is the boss) as an indication of virility and heterosexuality.

Machismo is seen also as the right of men to sexual freedom and sexual promiscuity, affective detachment, physical dominance, and oral fixation as a residual of an Oedipus complex.[42] It is seen as an expression of an inferiority complex or an inner maladjustment due to differential perceptions of aspirations and realities, and a result of excessive male social relationships to secure masculine identification.

Bermúdez introduced the concept of hembrismo as the counterpart of machismo.[43] It is described as an exaggeration of feminine characteristics, such as sweetness, dignified behavior, weakness, passivity, submission to males and others in positions of authority, excessive patience, extreme fidelity, forgiveness toward the husband's "pecadillos," excessive tribute to the preservation of virginity as evidence of purity, and the strength not to surrender to men's persuasions.

Pitt Rivers has observed that Hispanic-Americans believe that when women lose their purity, they can be compared to men, and without their femininity, they exhibit worse behavior than men.[44] This observation correlates with the concepts of marianismo, a dissenting point of view about female passivity and exploitation. Marianismo has been discussed by Pescatello and by political scientist Evelyn Stevens as the identification of Hispanic-American women with the Virgin Mary in a self-conscious attitude that appears to have been known in pre-Colombian America. Stevens' argument is that marianismo is based on a pre-Christian belief brought to Hispanic America by Mediterranean immigrants who saw women as semidivine—morally superior to, and spiritually stronger than, men. The superiority of Hispanic-American women is implied and stems from the preservation of their virginity in emulation of the Virgin Mary. If virginity is lost, superiority is lost.

As a result of anthropological and psychiatric data discussed by Pescatello, Stevens concludes that far from being the victims of a dichotomized value premise of sexual behavior, Hispanic-American women are purposely preserving the myth by which they are able to prescribe the division of labor. This fascinating argument brings new speculations to old concepts when Pescatello determines that marianismo or "female chauvinism" is not yet destined to disappear as a cultural pattern of Hispanic America.[45]

A similar position is established by Esther Vila, who says that ". . . men have been trained and conditioned by women . . . from earliest childhood, men are emotionally blackmailed first by their mothers, then by their wives . . . (As) a child, a man becomes addicted to maternal praise, as an adult, he marries a woman who will maintain the addiction as well as enhance it by gratifying his sexual needs . . . this is the relationship that is called love."[46]

HISPANIC-AMERICAN WOMEN: TREND TOWARD CHANGES

Hispanic-American women, as a group, are a vivid expression of the syncretic process that created the mestiza and the criolla. The 100 million women in Hispanic America represent the exuberance of a loose combination of four strains: Spanish, Portuguese, Indian, and Negro. They encompass all possible races, colors, and classes—white-skinned women with dark eyes and hair, olive-skinned mestizos, dark Negroes, exotic mulattoes and Chinese-mulattoes, blond European types, and primitive Indians.

The universal image of the traditional Hispanic-American woman, the feminine, nonaggressive, submissive counterparts of the aggressive machista males, has revolved about the qualities of modesty, fidelity, patience, resilience, subservience, and humility. At the same time, the Hispanic-American women often have accrued far more power than their North American counterparts. Hispanic-American women have had their queenships—their homes, children, and domestics.

According to Geyer, Hispanic-American women tend to have stronger personalities than their North American counterparts because their place in society is well defined and protected for those who accept it; therefore, they are not subject to the restless searching that typifies many North American women. Hispanic women had two well-defined roles: either the wife-mother role with all its sacrifices, as well as all its social support, or the role of the woman of the street with all its enjoyment and no social support. Very few Hispanic women have rebelled against the fate that excluded them from the normal mixture of human complexities and contradictions ascribed to males. Their families have been their primordial institutions, protected by law in ways totally alien to North American women. Maternity has been protected by governments in most Hispanic countries through maternal social policies conferring rights to women, e.g., salary for 6 weeks before and after delivery, free delivery at the maternity hospitals, special arrangements for feeding the child when mothers have returned to work after the 6 weeks of leave, etc.

Hispanic women have shown their strength and skills by participating in a variety of political, social, and economic activities outside their homes. There have been thousands of noteworthy women in the Hispanic world, i.e., Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, born in Mexico in 1651. At age 15 she was a brilliant and beautiful woman engaged in Mexican social life, awakening the admiration and the suspicions of men. She soon found that her society did not have a place for her, and she became a nun at 16 to escape the chauvinistic society. Her literary masterpieces were too liberal and too rebellious for a woman and nun of her time. Sor Juana, a feminist poet, condemned men who captured the love of women for the enjoyment of the conquest. María and Manuela, daring women who challenged the prejudices of their societies, devoted their love without ties to liberators like Martí and Bolívar. Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, "La Avellaneda," from Camagüey, Cuba, was a poet who left Cuba to go to Spain where she inspired the astonishment and love of the greatest men of Europe.

Women like Eva Perón in Argentina, Doña Felicia in Puerto Rico, and Herminia Rodríguez in Cuba have been strong-willed leaders who promoted social policies to benefit women, children, and the social conditions of their countries.

"Women in the most modernized societies have come increasingly to be regarded as persons and citizens entitled to the same degree of freedom, equality and opportunity as men."[47] Although this ideal is far from being fully accomplished, let alone unanimously accepted, the records do show a measure of progress in Hispanic countries where women have gained some rights, i.e., to own property in their own names, to attend school, to vote, and to hold office, for example. Society also has become increasingly permissive about women, including mothers and wives, working outside their homes.

According to Gendell and Rossel, these trends are not yet so visible in Hispanic America where the majority of women are still tied to the traditional roles. When women with little education work outside their homes, they continue to do tasks related to woman's work: cooking, sewing, cleaning, and serving. However, a leading group of women with higher levels of education in all types of jobs is emerging, particularly in the teaching and service fields.[48]

There is a correlation between industrialization and technological knowledge and the development of women's rights in almost every country of the world. Gendell and Rossel, in their study on Hispanic-American countries, concluded that the expansion of women's participation in the economic and labor force will depend on the pace of social and economic modernization of those countries. Thus, the future of the women in Hispanic America appears to remain tied to the socioeconomic progress of the countries and to the extent that women participate in higher education.

Women in Hispanic America started to acquire higher education as preparation to be better housewives and mothers. Universities were to be the social medium through which women could find "good" husbands. Therefore, it was not expected that women would change their values or reach self-actualization by becoming professional. For women, the goal of higher education was to find a better job that probably would reinforce their traits as single women. But reality shows a different outcome.

Sociology magazine of St. Marcos University conducted a study related to women's participation in higher education. Findings showed that 26 percent of the students are women at St. Marcos, 28 percent are women at San Fernando School of Medicine, and 44.1 percent are women at the Catholic University. The same study showed that 36 percent of women in Peru today work and study at the same time. According to this research, middle-class women study to acquire a better way of earning a living, to become independent from their families, and to reach sexual independence.

A variety of studies focusing on the relationship between women's participation in the labor force and their personal growth clarified the emerging trend that

Hispanic-American women are engaging in new social roles. Weller found in his study that participation in the labor force is associated with the wife's increased influence in family decisionmaking, particularly with respect to having additional children. This influence is associated with lower birth rates for working women.[49]

Geist, in his study of the reasons why Hispanic-American women select their occupational fields, compared five different Spanish-speaking Hispanic-American countries. He found that women are breaking with the traditional roles in the selection of their professions.[50] They are not adhering to their families' expectations, but are following the new pattern of self-realization, full participation in community life, creativity, and independent acquisition of civic responsibilities.

The revolutionary literature of Cuba also recognized that changes in women's roles are related to "becoming efficient productive workers."[51] Frey et al (1969),[52] Inkeles (1969),[53] and Kahl (1969),[54] by different methods, arrived at the conclusion that a new social psychology complex called "individual modernity" emerges with industrialization. This theory seems to be applicable to the social developments in Hispanic America.

Lucy Cohen summarized similar points of view from a variety of authors who believe that the occupational and familial changes of women's roles are the results of two forces: industrialization and urbanization.[55] As Cohen mentioned, according to Havighurst and Gillin, the changes are related to the growing number of women who have secondary or higher education and who are working outside of their homes. Also, Cohen indicated that the most complete study on women's role change was done by Myrdal and Kelin, who have characterized the changes of women in industrialized societies as "a revolution in two phases." The first phase relates to the acceptance of women working outside their homes in a variety of jobs and without family ties. The second phase relates to the growing number of women who combine family responsibilities with jobs outside their homes.

It might be surprising to North Americans that Hispanic-American women of all classes choose abortion as their solution to unwanted pregnancies. Indeed, in a so-called Catholic continent, the abortion rate is astronomically high.[56] Nevertheless, for years North American women went to Cuba and used the Cuban medical services and facilities for abortion. Other countries besides Cuba, such as Chile, Colombia, and Brazil, have had high abortion rates for a number of years. Only recently have abortions been accepted by certain groups in the United States and have become legalized by some State governments.

These differences in approach provide one of many examples of the discrepancies in the selection of cultural premises for one culture. Sometimes there is no apparent logical explanation for the selection of a preferred cultural premise; thus, acceptance without value judgment is necessary.

There is no doubt that women in Hispanic America are discovering and adopting new roles, thus challenging societal norms, traditional cultural premises, and well-rooted and prescribed behavior with new values. These evolutional changes are processed through an array of institutions and structures representative of the culture; therefore, social changes become intertwined with daily living and with a variety of degrees of social upheaval, generally channeled and positively sanctioned by their societies.

These trends toward change are beginning to show in the Hispanic-American literature since women are publishing articles in popular and professional magazines.

Argentina

Haydee Jofre Barroso relates the Argentinian experience: "Women in Hispanic America have been raped since Spaniards arrived on our shores . . . the Indian physically raped . . . the Criolla subjected emotionally . . . with no one caring for her feelings and thoughts . . . . Women in Argentina had refuge in Church work and giving themselves to God as a substitute for men . . . . To sew, to knit, to make music, to paint, to do charity, to pray--these were the destiny of a woman till the man came along to make her his wife."[57]

The author explains that Argentinians started on their road to liberation by becoming owners of their sentimental destiny--the right to elect and deserve a partner. Mothers, the allies who solidified this situation, favored the daughter's selection. The next step toward liberation was a change in physical appearance. Women cut their hair short "a lo garçon;" they used some rouge to color their paleness, symbol of being a "lady;" and they started to slenderize their figures. Later, some women realized that an extra income could contribute to the household budgets for children's education, for better homes, and for vacation trips. So women started small-scale home enterprises: baking and cooking special foods, knitting, embroidering, and tutoring children. These steps opened the door to higher education.

The domestic workers improved their level of education by going to night school and, as a consequence, their levels of aspirations, expectations, and behavior varied. The structure of the domestic work changed. Now women are paid for household work by the hour instead of by the old arrangement of living at the employer's home in the servant's quarter. The middle-class women have entered institutions of higher education in most fields and have become more independent. At first, the women felt that their income was a contribution and that their earnings had to be given to the husband or family. Then they started to retain their income for themselves. Thus, women began to compete with men.

Women in Argentina have acquired new positions and statuses. They have participated in labor unions, in the political arena, in legal processes, and in the courts, thus improving and enlarging the previous conquests, but not reaching equality. The price for liberation in 61 percent of the cases has been loneliness resulting from the breakup of marriages or from not being able to find a "liberal" husband. Liberation means: (1) breaking the patterns of submissiveness; (2) changing from the competitiveness of sex rivalry to the cooperation between partners in all household activities; and (3) raising children, earning income, defining and clarifying fundamental values in husband-wife relationships, and thus defining their rights with equity.[58]

Peru

According to Ana María Portugal, "Peru's society, repressive and machista, had developed large numbers of myths to retain women's status quo. It is governed by laws made and applied by men; thus women have become a second sex."[59] "La tapada peruana's" long skirt and "manto" discreetly covering her were not symbols of fear of the world, but protection of her strategies for surrendering to her targets. Today, the tapada has evolved, without a power struggle for surrender, into the woman of the miniskirt who is involved in human growth and relationships.[60]

All over Hispanic America, the idea that a girl must be a virgin to marry well is fading. To maintain the status quo, men have created the myth of hymen preservation as a symbol of prenuptial purity—a myth that has not been believed by all. As Portugal mentions in her article, according to Hall's research in Lima, more than 50 percent of the women in Lima have had their first sexual experience before age 20, but hide it from family and society. It is almost impossible to express openly these new ideas and concepts, such as prenuptial experiences, divorce, and home emancipation because of the extremely painful results: marginality in society and the staining of family honor.[61]

In the meantime, individuals continue to break away from standardized norms without challenging them in public or private life. For some, this is hypocrisy, but for others it is legitimizing a new norm by repeated behavior before the general public recognizes and sanctions the behavior, or before there is a right that protects the behavior from being labeled socially deviant and immoral. For instance, if virginity is required for marriage, it can be repaired medically with the consent, in many cases, of the mother. Hispanic-American women's hypocrisy is required to preserve social equilibrium until men are reeducated.

As Ana María Portugal explains, the intellectual women in Peru have had to struggle for the right to think independently. These women must solve the dilemma of maintaining harmony between their private world (self-realization) and professional aspirations through concessions or limited compromises or by radically breaking away. Therefore, they assume the consequences of a family break (loneliness and societal rejection). The women's new positions sometimes force them into competitive functions and roles that project distorted images of attitudinal and physical "masculinization." As a consequence, new stereotypes and discriminations are created and forced on society by the most conservative members. The constant promotion to legitimize women's roles and positions as housewives leads to anxiety about remaining single, which, at times, reaches a level of total obsession and is overcome only by a marriage arrangement.

Chile

During the last decade, Chile has realized new social development, so it is important to listen to the voices of the Chilean women. Rose Cruchaga de Walker and Lillian Calm, referring to Chilean women, said, "Since 1949 the 'Chilenas' have all legal rights that men have had . . . they have been very active in political processes."[62] Both writers interviewed Elisa Pérez de Serrano, educator and writer, who said: "The higher the women are reaching the lower men are falling. It seems their strength was virtually based on the weakness of women. Men are startled by the fact of women rising high and, instead of understanding women, they have adopted a position of resentment."[63] Women in Chile are participating now in other public activities besides political—professional and business. The emptiness of the female's leisurely world is part of the past.

Brazil

Brazil, the cradle of "La Samba," could not escape from the advance of the Women's Movement. In a study conducted by Rosen and La Raia in Brazil, women in industrial communities were found, on the average, to have a greater sense of personal efficacy, to enjoy more egalitarian relationships with their husbands, to place greater emphasis on independence and achievement in the socialization of their children, and to perceive the world in a more activistic perspective than women in nonindustrialized milieus. Modernity in women tends to increase with level of education, skill of occupation, social status, and membership in voluntary associations; it is universally related to family size, both preferred and actual.[64]

Other data derived from the Rosen and La Raia study show that the extended family system persists in industrial Brazil in the middle and upper strata, contrary to the notion that industrialization destroys the extended network. Women in industrialized societies participate more actively in family decisionmaking, have a higher opinion of their sex, encourage more independence in their children, and are oriented more actively toward their environment than women of nonindustrialized cities.

Mexico

According to Guerrero, during the decade of the 1960's, changes also have been observed in the historic sociocultural premises of women in Mexican society. There were dramatic changes: (1) women felt less dependent on male authority; (2) women wanted to become independent and professional, rather than retain both the submissive role of mothers as a model of devotion and their preference for the house as their place; and (3) women lessened their traditional blind obedience to parents while retaining their respect.[65] Díaz Guerrero observes that if Mexican society wants to preserve the relationship between sexes without polarization like that found in the United States, new cognitive, intellectual, and professional opportunities will have to be offered to women in Mexico.

Cuba

The review of women's liberation trends in Cuba reveals the difficulties in implementing new values (even with endorsement policy by government), the official recognition for larger participation in public affairs, and the collective support of an organization like the Federation of Cuban Woman.

The history of Cuban women fighting for equal rights goes back to 1869. In that year, Ana Betancourt, a Cuban patriot, stood up at the Constitutional Assembly at Guáimaro, Province of Camagüey, and demanded equal rights for women under the new constitution written while Cuba was fighting Spain.[66] A legend in Cuba is "Rosa la Bayamesa"—Rosa Castellanos—"who had been a slave, fought in both wars for independence, earning captain's stripes under Máximo Gómez."[67]

There have been Cuban women laborers since the time of the Spaniards. By 1963, over 15 percent of women in a total population of more than 2 million persons were in the labor force.[68] By 1960, women accounted for 21 percent of the work force. For some years before the Castro Revolution, women had taken an active part in Cuban society; they were visible everywhere as social workers, teachers, administrators, government representatives in the Cuban diplomatic and consular services, medical doctors, lawyers, architects, nurses, professors at universities, politicians, labor leaders, revolutionaries, pharmacists, and so forth.

According to Nancy Reeves, "the women in Cuba were magnificent, in their active participation in the period of clandestine opposition to the Batista Tyranny and later in the Guerrilla warfare resulting in his downfall."[69]

A dissenting point of view is offered by the revolutionary literature that has stressed that in Cuba before the Castro Revolution, women belonged mainly to three classes: prostitutes, mothers, and domestics.[70] According to Randall's interviews with Cuban revolutionary women, men continue to believe that household maintenance activities are the responsibility of women and not a matter of mutual obligation between the two sexes.[71] Cuban women are engaging now in some new activities, such as driving tractors, but they still have to prove their femininity. For example, a woman may wear her hair in curlers during the day of labor "so she will look attractive and feminine to her man at night."[72] The signs of a sexist society are still strongly rooted in revolutionary Cuba.

This conflicting behavior suggests that public postures do not necessarily correlate with behavior.[73] Besides, social and attitudinal changes do not occur simultaneously. Social change comes about by focusing on the building of power and its strategic manipulation; attitudinal changes involve an overture of love and trust, as well as gestures of goodwill, all intended to result in behavioral change.[74] To remain in power, the revolutionary government initially had to focus on building power to implement a new social order. The strategies for attitudinal change remain as part of the future.

THE HISPANIC-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN NORTH AMERICA: HISPANIC AMERICANS AS A GROUP

The average person in North America has assumed that Hispanics are a homogeneous group with similar languages and cultural heritages. The North American Government, at all levels has functioned under the same assumption, intensifying the inner community tensions, deepening resentments, and enlarging the social distance already separating Hispanics and North Americans.

The North American experience varies for each Hispanic group, as well as for each individual member within the Hispanic group.

Many factors contribute to these differences, and consequently, influence the behavior and the relationships of Hispanic groups in the North American society. These factors evolve around the origin of nationality in relation to:

- The motives to immigrate.
- The legal immigrant status at the time of arrival.
- The kinds of relationships that the country of origin has with the United States.
- The historical events that preceded the time of departure from the country of origin.
- The political, economic, and social factors conditioning the historical trends of North American communities at the time each Hispanic group arrived in the United States.
- The racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic class composition of each Hispanic group and its perception by the different community groups in the United States: the white middle class, the Government, the other ethnic or racial groups.
- The style of the ties with the country of origin.
- The degree of mobility or communication with the country of origin.

The Hispanic Experience

When Hispanic-Americans attempt to participate in North American society, they face a complete change of systems, thereby affecting the process of social change with an impact that can be equated to a revolution in fundamental values, norms, and behavior. This drastic change should be called "modernization," but traditionally has been labeled the "Americanization" process. It includes a rapid social change to a higher level of industrialization than that seen in Hispanic America, and requires that Hispanic-Americans face and adjust to an institutional and structural system that is culturally different.

The impact of facing a higher degree of industrialization requires higher educational and occupational opportunities and the sharpening of those coping mechanisms by which obstacles challenge the growth of new social skills. The learning of new institutions and structures without Hispanics losing their culture places emphasis on one's learning to be bicultural and bilingual. Only by becoming bicultural and bilingual can Hispanics accrue the power required for equal participation and enter the mainstream of the work force.

The author has observed that, besides physical baggage, Hispanic-American families bring to the United States "cultural baggage" that becomes their most precious heritage and wealth, and that represents the level of modernization or industrialization and technological advancement of their countries of origin. This cultural baggage becomes the universal code, with fixed norms for the behavior of each member of the family constellation and for the socialization of the young, especially the women.

The modernization and social change that continue to occur in their countries of origin become alien to them, and their own natural process of cultural change is cut short as they arrive in the United States. Thus, the customs, traditions, and levels of "modernization" of Hispanic-American families in the United States differ according to the country of origin, and the process of adjustment in the hostess society varies. Any deviation from that universal code, stratified at the time of arrival, is perceived as "Americanization" and as a threat to the preservation of their dearest heritage.

There is no doubt that the structure of Hispanic-American family relationships changes in the United States. Some changes and contributing factors are:

- o The father figure is perceived as being undermined in the process of Americanization by the relaxation of authoritarian structures in favor of more democratic participation.
- o North American education is oriented toward independence and self-realization.
- o The child, who in short time masters English, feels superior because of the father's lack of knowledge of the language.
- o The mother's sphere of social and economic activities outside the home is expanded.
- o Undefined new roles emerge, breaking the traditional social prescriptions for the female-male relationship.
- o Definition of status changes from family status to individual status based on individual productivity.[75]

Changes of this sort no doubt will tend to create anxiety in the males, especially when the hostess society is not prepared to provide supportive social services for the families. Even worse, most of the feedback from institutions provides a generalized discrimination that makes the situation more complex.

In the process of adjustment to a new social order, confusion in the areas of family roles, power, status, prestige, authority, and values can be expected. This confusion increases if women's rights and the male's authority become key issues. Specific emotions of resentment, love, fear, and envy between sexes and among members of the family, felt within the general context of value changes, could generate severe interpersonal conflicts which, because of poorly defined social roles and the destruction of family stability, affect mainly the younger generation.

These statements are not different from those collected from the literature on Hispanic-American countries in their struggles for modernization and social change. The institutions, the means, the style, and the method or approach are quite different in the two countries because they are culturally determined. This is the part of the process of social change, labeled "Americanization" or "modernization," that requires a supportive social service and serious analysis conducted through professional research.

When Hispanic-American families live in North America, the influence of stress on individualism, self-determination, and self-assertion is felt through the educational systems by the younger generation. These cultural premises cause stress for Hispanic-American families in their Americanization or modernization process, and they are expressed in different degrees, depending on the sex of the youngster. Their expression is more accepted in males because it is in some ways a reinforcement of machismo or male chauvinism (reinforced verbal communication), but there is also an unexpected loosening of authority and group cohesiveness. With regard to females, however, the situation becomes critical because these "new models of Americanized behavior" break away from most of the stereotyped norms of the "hembrismo-machismo" game. All members of the family severely criticize the female who dares to challenge the established cultural premises. The general fear expressed is that the female is becoming a "prostitute" because only prostitutes are free to act or express themselves; a lady is dignified, controlled, modest, and shy.

The husband-wife relationships of Hispanic-American couples go through abrupt changes after the marriage is consummated. The female moves from an idealized position to one of complete submissiveness.[76] In the Americanization or modernization process, the female loses the idealized status she had during courting because she now attends coeducational public high schools; but, with equal intensity, the male expects the female to be submissive.[77] This cultural premise is undergoing the greatest change with the advent of women's liberation in Hispanic America.

In modern North American literature written by women, the same statements typify the complaints of the women's liberation groups. The degree of the machismo and some of the external and visible behaviors are the qualifying factors for the labels of machismo or male chauvinism.

In sexual relationships, the female was not expected to demand and show passion; thus, a frigid wife was almost preferred because the role of a married woman was centered on bearing children and running the household. Sexual satisfaction was sought by the husband from prostitutes, widows, divorcees, or any other women he could seduce. In societies with a high degree of segregation in the roles of husband and wife, the couple tends not to develop a close sexual relationship, and the wife does not look upon sexual relations with her husband as gratifying. This cultural premise will disappear rapidly among Hispanics with the impact of new roles for women in a liberalized society. Males have come to accept, to a greater degree, the possibility of some enjoyment for females during sexual intercourse, but greater difficulties are expected in the male acceptance of a totally liberated woman. This area is expected to be one of deep conflict, since the stability of the Hispanic family has been based on the rigid and clearly differentiated role prescriptions for each sex.

Rainwater's study reveals that there are significant similarities in the customs related to sexual relations for people of four different countries--the United States, England, Mexico, and Puerto Rico.[78] According to the study, there are more similarities in those countries among people of the same social class from different countries than among social classes in the same country.

Another important feature in the process of modernization is the emerging change in mother-father roles, with fathers becoming more affectionate, with the loosening of fixed roles for the sexes, and with increased responsibilities of both parents for the socialization of children. The social distance between members is diminished in the "respect-fear" score, with a notable change toward "companionship, cooperation and camaraderie."[79] Hispanic-American fathers in the U.S., lacking models for these new roles, might feel that their authority and their maleness have been eroded instead of developing an awareness of a new cohesiveness that encompasses each individual in a new democratic family life.

The extended family has been another Hispanic-American institution that suffers changes in the struggle for survival in North America. Each family constellation represents all shades of racial color and all levels of social and economic class. Families from Hispanic America physically are becoming nuclear, but they sustain emotional closeness through telephone or mail contact. Families tend to move to single dwellings, but remain as close as possible in the nearby community or form; according to Stoddard, there are minicommunities of five to seven families in the same block. The bonds of love and protection influence the desire to remain in the same neighborhood, but the labor market and the different levels of education represented in one extended family are forcing families to resettle wherever their nuclear groups find the right jobs.

This adjustment from extended to nuclear family is a demonstration of cultural integration even though the assimilation is perceived as institutional--derived from the need to adapt to the labor market and to the economic needs of the family. The demands of social mobility on each individual have become stronger than the bonds of the family (where the family as a group had preference over the individual members).

The author believes that the Americanization or modernization process is the result of a variety of interrelated factors resulting in multidimensional influences. For example:

- After many years of industrial development, industrialization and technological knowledge have reached a higher degree in North America than in Hispanic America. Thus, some of the institutions have evolved to higher degrees of instrumentality, losing some of the socioemotional supportive characteristics of a primary or self-help group.
- The cultural baggage of each family at the moment of arrival will determine the amount of energy required for adaptation to the new circumstance.
- Discrimination of the traditional white middle-class Anglo-Americans toward Hispanic-Americans is deeply rooted.
- The two cultures are dissimilar in their values, i.e., their perceptions of time, relationships to nature, human relationships, languages, use of space, and the nature of their activities.[81]

These influences have forced the emergence of: (1) ghettos or barrios with self-supportive systems for the survival of individuals and cultural baggages within the limits and resources of the ghetto or barrio; (2) pressures for social conformity developed as a result of erroneous concepts of physical identity as prerequisites for human and social equality of rights; (3) discriminatory practices in participation in education and work forces, reinforcing the need for ghettos and barrios; and (4) studies focused on the differences between Hispanic-American and North American groups, always highlighting the negative characteristics of the Hispanic-Americans.

THE STRUGGLE FOR HISPANIC WOMEN'S RIGHTS: THE HISPANIC WOMAN'S DILEMMA

Previous sections of this paper have focused on the Hispanic's perspective of Hispanic-North American events and Hispanic cultures—peoples, families, and institutions—to expand the reader's frame of reference and to secure a better understanding of Hispanic women in their struggle for women's rights in North America. While North American women want to break their chain of sexual oppression, they have not realized that Hispanic-American women will have to break three different types of chains. One is like the North American women's chain—male-female inequality. Another is imposed partly by North American women, who are part of the oppressor's group. The third chain, imposed by their own cultural groups, is the fear of Americanization and of becoming acculturated. To prevent their modernization, Hispanic women are made to fear losing their own cultural identity.

The struggle for greater rights for women in Hispanic America is emerging as a natural consequence of the social and economic modernization of Hispanic countries. The male-female struggle for equality is not alien to women in Hispanic America today.

The industrial development of the 20th century has brought increasing pressures on the traditional male-female roles and on family patterns permeating the structures of all social systems and has unexpectedly shifted the status and the power of females within the family and society. New ideas, new opportunities, and new social responsibilities have allowed women in Hispanic America to move slowly but surely toward the hazards and the benefits of new behavioral norms for male-female relationships.[82] Women's roles have undergone more changes in the past 50 years than those of any other oppressed group; but even if there is a commitment to facilitate changes, the task is difficult because relationships between the sexes are obviously complex, enduring, and not easily modernized.[83] These changes in Hispanic America have not shown the extreme anti-male modality of the feminist causes of North America. Hispanic-American women are changing slowly and in accordance with their more family-oriented and hierarchial roles. "The female in Hispanic America is revered and reviled . . . the Spanish paradox in behavior, which saw legal inequality between male and female partially balanced by excessive gallantry and protectiveness toward the legally inferior sex."[84]

In this process of equalizing sex rights for equal participation in public affairs, the struggle for equal rights with men is not much different for North American and Hispanic-American women's groups. As part of this process, Hispanic-American women should be able to sort out the similarities and differences between their struggle and that of North American women. Hispanic-American women should not lose totally the perspective of their cultural limitations and prescriptions imprinted in their "cultural baggages." Nevertheless, they should accept their partnership in social changes in the United States as they are doing in Hispanic America. In doing so, the Hispanic-American professional women in North America might have to initiate a dialogue with professional women of their respective countries. The dialogue will establish support to decrease the resistance from the Hispanic communities in the United States by helping them to become aware of social changes for women in Hispanic countries.

When Hispanic families move to the United States, very often they discover that women can find jobs more easily than men. By joining the labor force, women become the breadwinners, and a new responsibility is added to their lives without the privileges that the male breadwinner formerly achieved. Instead of feeling liberated, women feel oppressed by the discrimination imposed on them for being members of a minority group. Hispanic-American women, the source of cohesiveness of the Hispanic-American families, become thereafter the center of the fortress, the source of strength against the North Americans whom they perceive as destroying their identity and their "cultural baggage."

The Hispanic-American women's reaction has been to defend their traditional cultural values and the unity of the family. This position could be misunderstood by some North American women, emancipated from family ties and sometimes alienated from the traditional familial values of male-female roles. Not only do Hispanic women suffer the same sexual oppressions as Anglo women, but they also suffer racial oppression because of their identification with a group classified as a minority.[85]

The social upheaval of the 1960's in North American communities has awakened other minorities besides blacks to fight for their own rights. Feminism in the United States and the new Women's Movement are a response to the white beat of black protest.[86] For North Americans, "racism" and "sexism" are historically close, but are not necessarily united; the Women's Liberation Movement and the Gay Liberation Movement have gained momentum from the Civil Rights Movement.[87] In Hispanic America, women have not had that frame of reference because the abolitionist movement was tied to the organized efforts for independence from Spain. The Hispanic-American world is tainted with peculiar mixtures of cultural and multiracial traditions and norms. This is the legacy from the Spaniards and Portuguese, who had more relaxed attitudes about color and race and a more humane slavery system. But for Hispanics in the United States, "racism" and "sexism" are historically united, and they have to be fought together.

In the North American democratic tradition, socially oppressed groups are expected to organize, increase their power and visibility, and become a threat to the balance of power before they start receiving the services and the treatment they deserve. North America requires mass behavior to secure rights for oppressed groups; in Hispanic America, individual deviant behavior is accepted, thus allowing for individual social mobility and the development of individualized patterns of behavior if the universal norms are not disturbed.

Hispanic-American social systems will not openly help women participate in movements because these social systems have well-defined hierarchies and criteria for sustaining them. Individual mobility occurs and defuses group action as matter of fact; thus, individual mobility can occur only in the absence of overt collective action. These norms will diffuse only if the legitimacy of the system is challenged. Women's rights could challenge the system. "The structure is hierarchical and stable;"[88] blacks, Indians, and whites share common norms and individual mobility becomes possible when it depends on the relative absence of collective and overt conflict.

At this stage in the development of strategy, if Hispanic-American women participate in the Women's Movement openly, the change to a North American mass movement could be perceived as resorting to "Americanization," or to cultural integration. This change could close some of the avenues for resolving some of the problems in achieving new roles for Hispanic women within the Hispanic communities. Besides, North American women are interested only in the issue of sexism, while Hispanic women in the United States have to struggle with the issues of sexism and racism. But if Hispanic-American women in North America do not join the struggle for social change in sex roles for fear of becoming Americanized, they might not keep pace with the historic moment of change.

For many militants in the Women's Liberation Movement, it might be a shock to hear the most active Hispanic-American women in the United States make statements such as "It was the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be liberated."[89] The white, middle-class North Americans who are members of the Women's Liberation Movement will have to understand the meaning of being women in a colonized country, or in a society oppressing their cultural group and especially their families. "For the woman of a colonized group, even the most political one, her oppression as a woman is usually overshadowed by the common oppression of both male and female."[90]

These two groups of women should listen to each other with open minds. They have much to learn if their goal is to improve the quality of life for all. Besides the issues of racism, both groups of women will have to overcome stereotyped concepts derived from a chauvinistic society and transmitted by an also chauvinistic literature. Hispanic women will have to overcome their stereotyped concept that North American women are not family oriented; in the same manner, North American women will have to overcome their stereotyped notion that all Hispanic women are either mothers and housewives or sexual creatures in search of love affairs. Hispanic women have demonstrated that they can be professionals and are capable of active participation in community affairs in addition to being mothers and housewives.

In the Hispanic communities, the achievement of sexual equality becomes also an intragroup struggle that will require the development of supportive services to advance understanding and awareness of the new roles and rights for women and is not merely seen as a process of Americanization. Also required will be social supportive systems culturally oriented for women to select the methods and strategies appropriate for dealing with their "cultural baggage." Thus, the Hispanic-American women are forced to restate and prove that liberalization of their rights will come not when they absorb the North American culture, but as a consequence of social change and as a product of industrial and technological development, i.e., women participating in the labor force and in higher education.

Hispanic-American professional women in the United States will have to take responsibility for developing new theoretical concepts for the analysis and evolution of the processes of "modernization," as well as for developing strategies for change that are appropriate for the different Hispanic cultural groups and individual "cultural baggages."

Hispanic-American women representing all Hispanic countries will have to unite and firmly stand up for their beliefs as mature and independent adults, besides keeping peace with their guilt-ridden souls. To achieve equality within the North American society without disrupting the bonds of love and care of the Hispanic-American traditional family structures seems to be an impossible task because all the members of the family will have to face readjustments in their roles, statuses, values, and behaviors.

If Hispanic-American women decide to preserve the traditional values of the family network, the strategies for change will be based on evolutionary processes and on selecting, step by step, those consensus issues where some changes can be achieved through persuasion, education, and social pressure. Attitudinal changes call for strategies which involve overtures of love, trust, and support. Using these strategies, the interrelationships and the new family structures, roles, statuses, and values could be processed because their objectives are to provide for social changes with minimum social upheaval or disruption within the Hispanic communities.

The goal of Hispanics should be to reach consensus within all Hispanic-American communities in preparation for larger struggles against established institutional discrimination. The institutional discrimination imposed by the Anglo-American society on Hispanic-American women requires different strategies, such as the clash of position and contesting policies. In building these strategies, the family should be included in its totality because both males and females are affected.

At the same time, Hispanic-American women cannot lose the momentum highlighted in North America by the Women's Liberation Movement, which provides educational programs and affirmative actions for the improvement of educational and occupational opportunities for women. The moment is ripe for Hispanic-American women to achieve the educational training and the positions necessary if they are to acquire the power to elicit other social changes.

This segment of the process will depend on the opportunities for educational advancement and job opportunities offered by the North American institutions, and on the development of a close relationship through dialogue with North American women to eliminate the traditional institutional discrimination, injustice, and misunderstanding that Hispanic-Americans have suffered in the United States.

Hispanic-American women will have to force the system to provide the funding for higher education programs with specialized supportive social programs geared to:

- Providing for Hispanic-American feminist counseling to ease the transition from the old values to the new ones.

- Developing programs for the Hispanic-American families' awareness of the new trends.

- Developing, among Hispanic women, a network of communication for mutual support and recruitment for higher education and job opportunities.

- Developing Hispanic-American women's awareness groups and helping young women to reach self-realization without the guilt of betraying their culture, religion, or families.

- Developing the strength among women that is required in the struggle for Hispanic-American women's rights.

- Developing centers for Hispanic women's research, studies, and publications so that these subjects can be researched with the understanding of the Hispanic-American culture and sentiments and without chauvinistic philosophy.

Hispanic-American women are at a fork in the road, with a variety of avenues to select. Yet they do not have all the facts they need to make certain decisions which should not be made by a small leadership group of Hispanic-American women. What are the democratic rights that invest a small group with the power to make decisions for an entire community? The data and the knowledge that are required to make decisions are almost nonexistent. The few data available are the products of a male chauvinistic or sexist ideology that will require review with an eye towards equality. Therefore, before some decisions are made with regard to the route to follow, Hispanic-American women should engage in research as follows:

- The existent literature related to the Hispanic-American cultural, familial, and individual values should be reevaluated.

- The reality of the Hispanic-American barrios should be studied, including their population trends, their sentiments and needs, and the services required of their people.

- Studies should be done of specific Hispanic modalities, such as machismo, in relation to the male chauvinism of the North American and other cultures. Every culture seems to have its machismo, with some variables based on intensitv and external behavior only.

- The extended family and the nuclear family as systems should be studied in relationship to the family functions and structures.

- Research should be conducted on the situation of some target groups, such as the middle-aged Cuban women professionals, who are in need of professional retraining programs and of women's awareness workshops so as to be integrated rapidly into the liberalized work force.

- A study should be made of the stress on young women who are in transition to higher education, who question for the first time the environment and its laws, who have to take steps toward self-realization, and who would like to preserve the family alliances and bonds of love.

- The women's process of change in Hispanic America should be investigated as a guideline and model for Hispanic-American women in the United States to redefine "Americanization" and "modernization."

- Review of the process of the North American experience for different Hispanic groups is needed. To eliminate opposition to the women's social changes that are to occur, this review should address cultural integration, institutional assimilation, and modernization to unravel the differences among these processes for each Hispanic group.

Hispanic-American women, wherever they are, cannot escape social change and progress, since the General Assembly of the United Nations, in its 30th Session, adopted a resolution stating that women's participation in public affairs will strengthen international peace and security.

On the day when North Americans and Hispanic-Americans, male or female, interact with each other as people and become equals under the law, women will say they have reached the real meaning of true liberation and equality! The threat of discrimination should not be overshadowed by the fears of cultural integration. Hispanic-American women do not have to lose their cultural identity, but they do have to accept partnership for social change in the United States. If Hispanic-American women in North America do not join the struggle for women's rights for fear of becoming Americanized, they might remain behind in this historic moment of social change, and they might find themselves alone and isolated—thus reinforcing the belief that they do not exist at all in their own right.

NOTES

[1] Daniel Bell, 1973, Race, Racism and American Law.

[2] Robert Freeman Smith (ed.) 1966, reprinted 1968, Background to Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Borzoi Book), Introd. p. 5ff. See also Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams to Hugh Nelson, Minister to Spain, April 28, 1823, W.C. Ford (ed.) The Writings of John Quincy Adams (New York, 1913-17), 7, pp. 372-379.

[3] Ibid., p. 6, 7. See also James Buchanan, J. Mason, and Pierre Soule to William L. March, "The Ostend Conference," October 18, 1854. U.S. Congress, House Executive Documents, No. 93, 33rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington, D.C., 1855), pp. 127-132.

[4] Treaty of Paris, signed by the United States and Spain on December 10, 1898, in Paris at the end of the Spanish-American War. "The Treaty with Spain," 56 Cong., Sess. I, Senate Documents, No. 148.

[5] Smith, p. 7. See also Wood to McKinley, April 12, 1900, Leonard Wood MSS., Library of Congress.

[6] Ibid., p. 11.

[7] W. M. Malloy et al. (eds.) Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols, and Agreements Between the United States and Other Powers, 1776-1937 Four Vols. (Washington, D.C.), 1910-38, 1, p. 362ff.

[8] Emilo Roig de Leuchsenring, 1966, reprinted 1968. A Cuban historian's view of the struggle for independence. In Background to Revolution. Edited by Robert Freeman Smith (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Borzoi Book), pp. 52-55.

[9] J. S. Reeves, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. American Hist. Rev., 5 p. 49ff; R. S. Ripley, The War with Mexico, 2; J. H. Smith, The War with Mexico, 2; L. M. Sears, Nicolas P. Trist, a diplomat with ideals, Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., 11, p. 85ff; Malloy et al. (ed.) . . .Treaties Conventions, etc., 1, p. 1107ff. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Documents of American History, No. 171, pp. 313-314.

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CHICANA IDENTITY: INTERACTION OF CULTURE AND SEX ROLES

Consuelo Nieto

La Chicana - Mujer de la Raza
Mestiza - India e Española
Hers is a heritage of struggle
Hers is a heritage of strength
May she believe in her strength above all
May she join her strength and struggle to
  that of her hermanas
  and
May this commitment be equal to the needs
  of our people
La Chicana - Líder en la causa
La Chicana - Mujer de Atzlán

Many women in the United States are involved in a quest for equality; they are striving to eliminate the social conventions and legal codes that accord them inferior status to men in the conduct of their personal, family, and public lives. This movement for equality is by no means monolithic. Great differences in motivation, in goals, and in strategy and tactics are seen among the women involved. One reason for the differences is cultural foundation, the background from which the concerned woman develops her individual striving for equality. When, in this country, that cultural background is nonwhite and/or non-English speaking, one of the so-called minority cultures, the basis for differences is increased markedly.

Why is this so? Historically, the cause lies in the fact that nonwhite and/or non-English-speaking females in America have been doubly victimized by both sexism *and* racism. Women of a minority culture have faced sexual discrimination from within as well as from outside their culture. But the racial/ethnic discrimination emanating from the majority culture has had a far greater impact on women because it has been directed against a people as a whole. In response to this double discrimination, when minority women have engaged in the struggle for female equality, they have usually done so in the context of their own particular racial or ethnic culture rather than in concert with women of the majority culture.

Culturally different women also have to protect themselves against many well-meaning majority-culture persons. These latter often want to "capture" the culturally different woman and make her their "minority woman" who speaks for all ethnically and racially diverse women. Unfortunately, some minority women succumb to this temptation to speak for the women of many, sometimes very different (e.g., black, Asian, Latin, and Native American) cultures as if they were one, creating a new type of "melting pot" myth.[1] One can be a minority person; that is,

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one can be recognized as distinguishably different in national origin, language, color, or race from those who form the racial-language culture of the majority of Americans. Yet, by using the term "minority," one indicates only that the person is different from and of a group fewer in number than the "majority."

To speak of what one is, rather than of what one is not, requires a substantial knowledge of culturally different people. This knowledge is acquired by study that sensitively discerns each culture's unique characteristics while noting attributes shared with others. For example, differences among Americans who are called Hispanic, Latino, Spanish-speaking, or Raza, all generic terms, can be very marked, especially to the people themselves. Chicanos are not Cubanos are not Puertorriqueños are not Colombianos are not Guatemaltecos, to name a few. They do share a common language, Spanish, but differences based on race, culture, and location often provide far more distinguishing variations. When understood, these differences enrich the larger society and offer further alternatives for social and personal living. When ignored, these differences habitually emerge in a most bothersome manner for the whole society. Thus, those people who speak of minorities—and here minority women—need to realize and be sensitive to the plurality explicit in the word "minorities."

Many culturally different women maintain a relative separatism from majority-culture people while pursuing their rights as women, a separatism that hides their struggle from the eyes of the majority. Though the women have been active, they have not generally been communicating their activities through literature and other media, the majority's chief means of access to a minority group. Thus, the outsider has had to look hard for information. Recently, however, there has been greater articulation to the national community of the concerns and the histories of culturally different Americans. Included in this articulation have been the stories of the struggle for women's rights within the various cultures.

The intent of this paper is to present one culturally different group of women, Chicanas, as they are written and spoken of by certain people from within that culture. There are three purposes for such an endeavor. One is to acquaint Chicanos and non-Chicanos alike with the history of struggles for equality and recognition for women within the Mexican/Chicano communities and to show where those struggles are manifested in today's Chicanas. La Chicana is usually assumed to be so under the influence of machismo that people tend to dismiss her story as lacking significant models for, or instances of, assertion of rights against the status quo. But, though male domination has a high profile in the Mexican/Chicano cultural tradition and is rigidly applied in some instances, there is evidence that domination is neither as universal nor as pervasive as commonly believed. Moreover, in the struggle for equality and equity, outstanding female personalities have manifested themselves in the past and continue to do so today.

Another purpose of this paper is to direct those who have responsible roles in this Nation's school systems to sources of knowledge and interpretation about the Chicana. Educators have been, and continue to be, key people in transmitting attitudes and information about Chicanas to Chicanas. As with the general population, ignorance and stereotyping are rife among educators. Hence, the author considers it important to inform educators generally on the Chicana and to make

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observations aimed at improving their attitudes, communication skills, and knowledge as professionals.

The third purpose is to suggest, explicitly and implicitly, areas for further research about la Chicana. This paper attempts a broad survey of historical and sociological factors central to many Chicanas active in the struggle for equal rights. But significant impact upon the knowledge and motivation of Chicanas and non-Chicanas can only be made by deeper and broader study of the subjects raised in this paper.

Material for the present survey was secured both from the Mexican/Chicano culture's literature on women and from interviews conducted by the author with five selected women who identify themselves as Chicanas. The former sources present the more scholarly, historical viewpoint of the Mexicana/Chicana, while the interviews serve to point up present-day attitudes and activities of the Chicana. Hence, a certain type of validation of the literature is attempted through the interviews.

THE CHICANA IN LITERATURE

Literature on the Chicana is sparse and difficult to find. Nevertheless, the material that is available does point out certain recurring themes. One way to understand the literature on the Chicana is to look briefly at her status as an economic producer. A significant part of the struggle for her rights is a response to her economic situation. When one looks at how the Chicana ranks statistically as a working person in the American economy, one can clearly see the results of the double discrimination of sexism within the context of racism. According to data presented in the National Education Association's Women's Rights Task Force Report, the job and salary status of the American work force is ranked thus: white males, minority males, white women, and last, minority women. Within the bottom group, black women have a higher status than Spanish-speaking women, and among Spanish-speaking women, Cubans, who have a higher degree of education, surpass Chicanas and Puerto Rican women.[2] Supporting the NEA report, U.S. Department of Commerce statistics illustrate clearly the status of the Chicana[3] (see Tables 1, 2, and 3).

Concerned Chicanas, when confronted by statistics such as these and the conditions they signify, have begun to sort out the causes for the low status of Chicanas as workers. They find that, among other causes, the educational preparation of Chicanas frequently has not provided them with marketable job skills except at the lowest levels. Thus, one finds the majority of Chicanas working as semiskilled and unskilled workers in factories, as field hands, as domestics, as laundry and cleaning workers, and as clerical workers. Very few are found in the professional fields. Anna Nieto-Gómez, an educational consultant for the Chicana Service Action Center in Los Angeles (a center designed to help women, especially Latinas, with personal and employment counseling), has found that:

> Three major factors seriously affect the Chicana woman from securing and maintaining job placement. They are communication barriers, lack of general knowledge concerning interviewing techniques (i.e., application forms and oral interviews) and lack of competitive entry skills.[4]

Both Nieto-Gómez[5] and Yolanda Nava[6] accuse the schools of inadequately preparing the Chicana for a career. The schools, they insist, reinforce the stereotype of Chicanas being fulfilled only through the roles of wife and mother. This stereotyped fantasy dissolves for many young Chicanas when the new family needs her additional income, or when she is forced to become the sole support of the family through divorce or widowhood, or when, perhaps later in her married life, she discovers new directions for her energy. Then, Nieto-Gómez and Nava contend, she may be prepared for only the most unskilled of jobs or tasks.

Aware of the Mexican/Chicana culture's traditional regard for the place of women, aware further of the schools' neglect of the young Chicana's training for future economic productivity, and aware of the exploitation of and discrimination toward working Chicanas by the larger society, many women of Chicano communities have sought change and redress of grievances through the dynamics of the Chicano Movement. For a long time, the Chicanas' efforts have been in the direction of community involvement which has neither distinguished nor prioritized needs according to sex. Educational neglect and economic exploitation, for instance, have been concerns of the whole community, Chicano and Chicana alike, because both have suffered from them. One could discern differences between the treatment accorded men and women, but both were treated so badly that differences were laid aside, and efforts were concentrated on getting better treatment for the community as a whole.

Currently, however, a number of Chicanas are establishing a priority for themselves as women and for more women-oriented needs in the community within the context of el movimiento. As Armando Rendón observes in Chicano Manifesto: "The women of Chicano revolt believe that Chicano liberation must also include Chicana liberation."[7] Rendón's personal perception is that the struggle going on between Chicano and Chicana "is not a mortal struggle nor a divisive one, because the women are saying that they want to be recognized by the Chicano macho as a companion in the revolution."[8]

The theme of companionship between Chicano and Chicana in the movement's struggle is the dominant one in the literature on the Chicana. Here the Chicana's personal hardship is validated in and through her activism within the entire community. Her struggle is seen as being a common one with the Chicano, who shares with her the oppression of racism. He is more often than not viewed by the Chicana as a sharer in her victimhood, not as her male oppressor.

But when one attempts to judge the success of the Chicana's quest for equality within the Chicano Movement, the answer is not easy to find. Take, for instance, the recommendation presented by a group of activist Chicanas at a Chicano conference in Colorado a few years ago: "It is the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be liberated."[9] How does one understand such a statement when the women making it were, by their very presence at the conference, far more "liberated" than the majority of their Chicana sisters? Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez, a Chicana feminist, sheds some light on that group's statement: "I sat back and thought, 'Why? Why?' I understood why the statement and I realized that going along with the feelings of the men at the convention was perhaps the best thing to do at the time."[9]

TABLE 1

MEDIAN YEARS OF EDUCATION, MARCH 1973

Group	Years of Education Female	 Male
Mexican-American	9.0	9.1
Puerto Rican	9.4	9.5
Other Spanish origin	11.8	12.0

TABLE 2

MEDIAN ANNUAL EARNINGS MARCH 1972

Group	Annual Earnings Female	 Male
Spanish-speaking	$2,647	$ 5,786
Black	5,147	7,301
White	5,998	10,593

TABLE 3

ANNUAL INCOME OF SPANISH-SPEAKING WOMEN, 1972 (%)

Group	Annual Income Less than $2,000	 $2,000-4,999	 $5,000-9,999	 Over $10,000
Mexican-American	48.5	36.6	13.8	1.1
Puerto Rican	22.4	55.6	20.7	1.1
Other Spanish origin	36.6	39.7	21.9	4.2

This concern for the feelings of the Chicano are echoed and reechoed throughout most of the literature. Many Chicanas feel that if they offend the men or take roles the men have traditionally held, they are seriously undermining their culture, unity, and therefore the Chicano Movement. Irene Rodarte stresses the necessity for unity within the social movement of the Chicano community. But she also emphasizes that the responsibility for unity rests as much on the Chicano as on the Chicana. Male egos, under the guise of machismo, Rodarte believes, can also destroy the cohesiveness of the community and thwart achievement of the movement's goals.[10] Elena García, in her paper "Chicana Consciousness: A New Perspective, A New Hope," recognizes that Chicanas must be sensitive to the threat that their new role poses to the Chicano and reassure him of her support; but at the same time, the Chicana should not back away from the need for self-development.[11]

A commitment to self-development often brings the Chicana into direct conflict with many Chicanos. Self-development does not seem to square with the traditional image that some Chicanos, even sensitive ones, and some Chicanas have of la mujer. They see self-development as already contained in the traditional role of the woman, as evidenced by Abelardo's poem, "La Hembra:"

> No woman will cling to youth, the fact illusive,
> With such tenacious abandon as she does, carrying a
> Niño in her womb is the crux of all femininity
> that forever was.
>
> Her job, her love, her endurance is impressive but
> the way she suffers almost without a tear makes
> the Chicana divinely appear, makes her life fully
> mysterious yet so clear.
>
> Your critics whisper your life is dull,
> reclusive, deep down they envy your security,
> you can give and take all with such maturity,
> you can change pain to joy and lust to purity.[12]

Some writers carry this concept of the woman, hembrismo, to near-mythic proportions, joining it to an idealized machismo to form the dual-principled essence of what it means to be Mexican/Chicano.[13] Against this lofty ideal of the woman, the Chicana's desire for a different, personal self-development appears to be a selfish indulgence.

> I am concerned with the direction that Chicanas are taking in the movement. The words such as liberation, sexism, male chauvinism, etc., are prevalent. The terms mentioned above plus the theme of individualism are concepts of the Anglo Woman's movement. The familia has always been our strength in our culture. But it seems evident that you are not concerned with the familia, but are influenced by the Anglo Woman's movement . . . . And since when does a Chicana need identity? . . . . The time has come for the Chicanas to examine the direction we wish to take. Yes, we need recognition. Our men must give this to us. But there is danger in the manner we are seeking it . . . . We are going

> to have to decide what we value more, the culture or the individual (as Anglos do)?[14]

This quotation makes several significant statements germane to the present discussion of the Chicana. It affirms another highly valued institution of the Chicano culture, la familia; it extends the family concept to el movimiento; it identifies the Anglo and anglicization of the Chicano as a major threat to la familia; it recognizes the Chicana's need for equity. But it equates speaking out for that equity with anglicization of Chicano culture. The statement's author assumes what Anna Nieto-Gómez terms a "loyalist" stance in contrast to a "feminist" position.[15] As she would in the family, this movimiento Chicana protects the Chicano from what she believes to be a divisive force, feminism, which she further believes to be Anglo-inspired and hence foreign. For the "loyalist," feminism distracts the movement's concentration from the real enemy: Anglo racism directed at all Chicanos. The Chicano Movement values highly la familia as a social unit and as symbolic of el movimiento itself. Many in the movement perceive Anglo society as having become the antithesis of la familia: the Anglo is basically individualistic. From this particular view of Anglo society comes the image of the Anglo women, particularly feminists, as ambitious, selfish, anti-family, anti-cultural, and anti-male. Chicanas who have pointed out inequities suffered by women in the movement have been quickly tagged as "women's libbers" or some other term that would tie them to the distrusted Anglo women and thereby discredit them.

> Harassment of femenistas forced many Chicanas to suppress their convictions. . . . These castigated Chicanas were identified as man-haters, frustrated women, and "agringadas," Anglo-cized. . . .To gain approval, acceptance and sometimes even recognition, many Chicanas were careful not to be associated with anything considered "women's lib."[16]

Consider the Chicana who rejects expressing priority for her rights and who has accepted the traditional role in Chicano society: loyal to la familia, to the Chicano, and to keeping disagreements with the Chicano "in la familia." How does this Chicana, as Isabel Hernández asks, "take an active part in the movement without jeopardizing the needs of the Chicano as related to traditional roles?" Hernández' answer invokes the mutual bonds and respect the Chicana and the Chicano are to forge as partners in the revolutionary struggle. Having shared equally and without deference to former roles in the work and suffering of bringing about the movement's goals, the Chicana is recognized by the Chicano and recognizes herself as no longer bound by previous conceptions of her role. She becomes, in this new situation, a new woman who shares with the Chicano, a new man, the management and work of their people.[17]

> "Machos" and the Mexican family cannot ask a woman to go back to her traditional role, if she has actively participated in the struggle and taken the same risks as her male counterpart. New roles, new attitudes and new family relations will be created, all members of "La Raza" will be judged by their worth as human beings and not according to sex, age or socioeconomic level.[18]

Numbers of Chicanas, though admiring and respecting their sisters' more traditionally defined dedication to la causa, disagree strongly with the latters' attitudes toward taking a stand on Chicana rights.

> Chicanos in the movement have been putting down the liberation of women as either a "white trip," a cop out, or a bourgeoise trip. The liberation of women has been shoved aside. However, feminism in the Chicano Movement has emerged as a most powerful movement. If understood correctly, one can clearly see that the liberation of women is in no way reactionary. It is not divisive, and least of all, it's definitely not a "white trip."[19]

These Chicanas, who advocate a stronger feminism, tend to set certain priorities for themselves. For some, priority means concentrating their energies in the community, where women have the greatest need for welfare and childcare, among other services. Other Chicanas work for their hermanas by pressing for equity between the sexes in receiving the benefits derived from the actions of the Chicano and Civil Rights Movements, especially in employment and educational opportunities. This goes hand in hand with the training and education many Chicanas are receiving from other Chicanas and from Chicanos in the performance of nontraditional social and work roles.

The formation of Chicana organizations designed to deal with these issues has been the result of community concern and support for the Chicana, on the one hand, and an act of last resort for some Chicanas weary of trying and failing to have themselves and their issues seriously considered, on the other. The Chicana Rights Project of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) is an example of support for Chicana rights. The project is "a research and litigation endeavor designed to combat the patterns and practices of discrimination which face large numbers of Chicana women." Areas of special concern for the Chicana which the Chicana Rights Project has taken up are employment and training, birth control and sterilization, day care, and educational opportunities.[20] An expression of the other kind of motivation for organizing is found in a recent article in La Luz describing a new Chicana organization, HEMBRA:

> The need for HEMBRA evolved from the isolation the Chicana felt and this isolation was compounded by the failure of other Chicano groups to deal with her needs . . . . HEMBRA's purpose is to address issues specifically related to La Chicana's needs and to provide a support system for Chicanas . . . .[21]

Though HEMBRA is cited as an example of Chicanas filling a need in the Chicano Movement, it, like Chicana organizations of similar origin, does have considerable support from the community, too.

For many femenistas, disagreement with loyalist-minded Chicanas and Chicanos is founded in a much broader interpretation of Chicano culture and its flexibility in the face of new situations. As an example, Chicanas do not have many leadership role models in the professions and organizations. Models have been provided mainly by persons from the majority culture. This has led people in the Chicano community to assert that since such roles and behaviors are found in people of the majority culture, these behaviors could not possibly be congruent with Chicano cultural values. However, in the minds of Chicanas who have a more liberal view of the culture, such an attitude arises from an ignorance of the similarities, the universals, that Chicanas share with all women. Flora Ida Ortiz argues that roles and behavior are not necessarily passed on through blood lines or culture lines.

> . . . Role manifestations are composed of behavioral patterns capable of being transmitted to anyone and among varied cultures. This means that the successful attainment of the Chicana of any professional role is dependent on learning the proper behaviors associated with the role.[22]

Thus, Ortiz' approach acknowledges the validity to Chicanos of knowledge and behaviors from outside the traditional cultural store, an acknowledgment shared by many Chicanos.

Anna Nieto-Gómez sees the conflict between the feminist-tending and the loyalist-tending to be the result of not clearly defining the differences between the Anglo and Chicana feminist movements. Historically, she maintains, the oppression of the Anglo woman has differed from that of the Chicana; culturally, their destinies, their ways of living, are each unique; thus their struggles are parallel, not conjoined. To maintain her self-determination, Nieto-Gómez concludes, the Chicana cannot integrate herself in the Women's Movement per se.[23]

From the foregoing discussion it is easy to see why Chicanas, for the most part, do not consider the Women's Movement in the United States as applicable to all women in the country, and why they generally do not wish to ally themselves with Anglo women. In summary, the Chicana's reasons for separation are: the uniqueness of the Chicana's struggle, integrated as it is with the community's struggle and the fight to preserve her culture; the suspicion with which she regards the Anglo woman, seeing her as part of a society that has discriminated against La Raza; and, for many, the fact that they are working hand in hand with men, not against them, as they believe that Anglo women are doing.

For those Chicanas who would venture beyond the bounds of el movimiento for some degree of mutual sharing and support, there are several areas of contact expressed in the literature. The most popular is for joining hands with other Third World women, both in the United States and abroad. Contact and exchange abroad was in evidence at the World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico City last year. A group of Chicanas sought out and met informally with women principally of the Latin American nations for mutual education and support.

Coalitions between Chicanas and majority-culture women have been proposed by some Chicanas. One such proposal, voiced by Mirta Vidal, would have a component within the Chicano community's struggle to participate in the Women's Movement.[24] Another possibility, expressed by this paper's author, is for the Chicana to:

> . . . participate in the mainstream of the women's rights movement. She is needed here to provide the Chicana perspective as well as to

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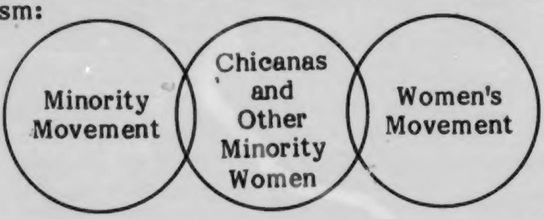
> provide support for the activities designed to help all women. Moreover, her unique role as a liaison person is crucial.[25]

Thus, the Chicana is seen as a linkage person, joining together the battles against both racism and sexism:



One generalization can be made concerning the tenor of much of the writing about the Chicana by Chicanas. This literature is questioning particularly the means a Chicana will use to arrive at a definition of herself. This signifies, as Isabel Navar points out, an affirmation of the heterogeneity of the Chicana and a caution against classifying the Chicana as Anglo or as Mexican. She is part of a continually evolving culture, drawing from two worlds.[26]

ROOTS OF LA CHICANA

As the Chicana seeks to define herself, there is a searching back into her cultural and historical roots. Resisting the assimilation process, she desires to explore and to understand what the mestizaje imparts to her. Octavio Paz, the Mexican poet and philosopher, reflects upon the condition of the Mexican woman. He sees her situation as an inheritance from both Indian and Spanish ancestors. Thus, he claims that, like most other people, the Mexican considers the woman to be a passive instrument, one meant to fulfill masculine desires, one meant to live out the ends assigned her by society. He writes:

> Whether as a prostitute, goddess, grande dame or mistress, woman transmits or preserves—but does not believe in—the values and energies entrusted to her by nature or society. In a world made in man's image, woman is only a reflection of masculine will and desire. When passive she becomes a goddess, a beloved one, a being who embodies the ancient, stable elements of the universe: the earth, motherhood, virginity. When active, she is always function and means, a receptacle and a channel. Womanhood, unlike manhood, is never an end in itself.[27]

Paz reflects on this condition:

> We will not allow anyone to be disrespectful to women . . . . Of course we should ask the Mexican woman for her own opinion because this "respect" is often a hypocritical way of subjecting her and preventing her from expressing herself. Perhaps she would usually prefer to be treated with less "respect" (which anyway is granted her only in public) and with greater freedom and truthfulness: that is, to be treated as a human being rather than as a symbol or function.[28]

In the articulation of her identity, the Chicana makes constant reference to her heroines. The current leaders, such as Dolores Huerta of the United Farm

Workers, are seen as the receivers and transmitters of the Chicana's historical and cultural legacy. Thus, Letitia Hernández writes in verse:

Daughters of Cuauhtémoc,
you are the flowers of our
    nation
you gave life to our Aztec
    people
you were sacrificed to the god
    Huitzilopochtli,
you were violated by the
    Spaniards
and you give life to our mestizo people.
Daughters, the Adelitas of the
    revolution,
Fighters for liberty,
We thank you, our mothers,
for you gave us the sacred
    privilege
of also being, Daughters of
    Cuauhtémoc,
fighters for liberty, not only
for our people, but liberty for
ourselves, the Daughters of
    Cuauhtémoc
who are the queens and mothers
    of our nation.

Hijas de Cuauhtémoc,
son las florés de nuestra
    nación,
dieron luz a nuestra gente
    Azteca,
fueron sacrificadas al Dios
    Huitzilopochtli,
fueron violadas por los
    españoles y
dieron luz a nuestra gente
    mestiza.
Hijas, las Adelitas de la
    revolución,
Luchadoras por la libertad,
Les damos gracias a ustedes,
    nuestras madres,
que nos han dado el sagrado
    privilegio
de ser también, Hijas de
    Cuauhtémoc,
luchadoras por la libertad no
    solo
para nuestra Raza, pero
    libertad para
nosotras, las Hijas de
    Cuauhtémoc
que somos las reinas y madres
    de nuestra nación.[29]

In Mexican history, three female models stand out from the others: Malintzin Tenepál, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, and *la soldera*.

Malintzin Tenepál, also known as Malinalli, Doña Marina, and La Malinche, holds a unique place in Mexican history. Born a princess from the province of Coatzacoalcos and sold into slavery by her own mother, Malintzin became the confidante and companion of Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico. Octavio Paz refers to her as the Mexican "Eve," and she is thus represented by José Orozco in his mural in the National Preparatory School in Mexico City. The Mexicans of today are seen as being her children, mestizos, born of Indian mothers and Spanish fathers. Her union with the Spaniard is seen as an act of violation and of treason. Fascinated and seduced by the Spaniard, Malintzin is symbolized as the one who destroyed her own people.[30]

The feminist Chicana does not perceive this to be the role of Malintzin. Rather, she views Malintzin's life as one of a victim: a victim of her mother who sold her into slavery in favor of her half-brother, a victim of the Mayans who held her a slave and gave her to Cortés, and a victim of the conqueror himself— a victim of a male-dominated society, one with whom the femenista can identify.

Adelaida del Castillo writes: "She is the beginning of the mestizo nation, she is the mother of its birth . . . . Any denigrations made against her indirectly defame the character of the Mexican/Chicana female. If there is shame for her, there is shame for us."[31] The feminists see Malintzin not as one who destroyed her nation, but as one who singularly acted upon her convictions within the fabric of her personal history. The Mexicana also defends her against critics, as can be seen in the following selection: "Réplica femenina de uno de aquellos aventureras heróicos fué esta mujer. . . (D)oña Marina, con ser mujer de la tierra que esfuerzo varonil tenía . . . jamás vemos flaqueza, sino un gran esfuerzo de mujer."[32]

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648-1695) is eulogized as an intellectual, a poet, and a woman. She attempted to affirm herself in a society and at a time when this was not acceptable. At the age of 8, when visiting Mexico City with her parents, she begged her mother to allow her to change into boys' clothes so that she might enter the university and seek knowledge.[33] As a nun, speaking of the criticism leveled against her because of her learning, she says with obvious irony, "What can women know except the philosophy of the kitchen?"[34] Despite strong opposition, Sor Juana in her writings did not shrink from an adamant defense of women. In her "Reply to Sor Filotea," written as an indirect response to the bishop of Puebla's criticism of her intellectual pursuits, Sor Juana writes aggressively in defense of her learning.[35] She cites men for the double standards they impose upon women in her famous poem, "Redondillas," as the following excerpts show:[36]

Foolish men who accuse women without reason without being aware that you are the cause of that guilt.	Hombres necios que acusáis a la mujer sin razón sin ver que sois la ocasión de los mismo que culpáis.
If with eagerness without equal you solicit their disdain Why do you want them to do good when you incite them to evil?	Si con ansia sin igual solicitáis su desdén ¿Por qué queréis que obren bien si las incitáis al mal?
. . . .	. . . .
It seems you want boldness from your like for dementedness, the child who makes a mask and then is afraid of it.	Perecer quiere el denuedo de vuestro parecer loco, el niño que pone el coco, y le tiene luego miedo.
. . . .	. . . .
Who has been most to blame in a passion that has erred, she who falls upon being courted or he who courts for the fall?	¿Cual mayor culpa ha tenido en una pasión errada, la que cae de rogada, o el que ruega de caído?
. . . .	. . . .
Well, why are you surprised at the blame that is yours? Like them as you have made them or make them as you would like to find them.	¿Pues para que os espantáis de la culpa que tenéis? Queredlas cual las hacéis o hacedlas cual las buscáis.

Sor Juana, in her writings and life, presented a far more liberating model for the education of women than the crippling educational tradition of her time. Finally, succumbing to overwhelming pressures, she renounced her books and died shortly thereafter in a state of melancholy and abdication. Nevertheless, her spiritual daughters in Mexico and in the United States, strengthened by her words, have taken up the struggle that she vividly articulated in her life.

The present-day Chicana, seeing herself involved in a struggle for herself and her people, relates to the old heroines of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, las solderas, women who accompanied the rebel armies as camp soldiers, sometimes bearing arms themselves. These women have been subjects of revolutionary corridos (Mexican folk ballards) such as "La Adelita" and "Valentina." Chicanas recall others such as Juana Gallo, who led the men of her village to avenge an attack of the federales, and La Marieta, a guerillera under Francisco Villa. Thus, la soldera, a fighter for liberty, is viewed as a precursor of her modern-day sister.

INTERVIEWS WITH FIVE CHICANAS

Turning to the interviews held with the five urban Chicanas (see personal data in Table 4), one initially looks at their use of the term "Chicana." All five indicated a preference for this term over all others used to denote an American woman of Mexican descent. Only Chicana "E" stated that the use of other terms, such as Mexican-American or Latina, did not bother her. Chicana "A" states: "A Chicana is someone who is trying to keep those things which are good about a Mexican, and at the same time, the good things about being a woman." Chicana "E" indicated that her choice of this term was clearly a political one. "Other terms don't bother me, but I feel more comfortable with Chicana because . . . in my own mind I'm somewhat politically alert." At other points in the interview she emphasized the importance of this term because of its cultural context: "I identify culturally with that [word] . . . . When we say Chicana, certain things are implied in that term that have had a very big impact on who I am, and so that's how I perceive myself . . . a Chicana."

TABLE 4

PERSONAL DATA ON CHICANA INTERVIEWEES

Chicana	Age	Marital Status	Level of Education	Current Employment
A	Late 30's	Married	High school	Office manager
B	Early 20's	Single	3 yrs. college	College student
C	Early 40's	Divorced	High school	Employment interviewer
D	Late 30's	Single	M.A.	Teacher
E	Late 20's	Single	Ph. D. candidate	Counselor, graduate student

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The essence of being Chicana, as defined by these women, is an integrated oneness that embodies one's sex and one's culture. To be a Chicana is perceived as being very much a woman-in-process. Chicana "B" firmly noted, "Just the idea that you call yourself Chicana is . . . I think it shows I'm trying to find my identity." She went on to say, "I'm not accepting what has been—what I have been given by others, by Anglos—I am looking—I am looking for me." Chicana "E" commented that being a Chicana involves change, which encompasses both a becoming, which is positive, and also a giving up, which may be painful.

Acknowledging their Mexican heritage and ancestry, Chicanas "B," "C," "D," and "E" made very firm and explicit distinctions between a Mexicana and a Chicana. Chicana "B" saw the difference in terms of the word "Chicana" being symbolic of an awakening, an emergence of a new women. Chicana "C" has this to say:

> I'm not a Mexican, because, number one, I feel that I don't belong to Mexico. I was born here in the United States, right? If I go to Mexico they're not going to recognize me—Mexicans from Mexico don't recognize us. As far as being Mexican-American, I don't like to be hyphenated by nobody, and that name was put on us by the Anglo; and I don't consider myself American all the way either because as long as we don't have the positions that the Anglo has how can you possibly be an American? I'm a Chicana.

Chicana "D" felt that Mexican women in this country, because of highly sheltered, isolated lives, lived in fantasy worlds, while Chicanas were more in touch with the real world. Variabilities growing out of class differences distinguished Mexicanas from Chicanas, according to Chicana "E." She observed that Mexicanas in this country were much less distributed among the economic classes than were their hermanas in Mexico or their Chicana sisters. Thus, differences based on class took on a greater significance when comparing Chicanas and Mexicanas living in the United States.

Extensive discussion took place with each of the interviewees on the relationship between the Chicana Movement and Chicanas. Chicanas "A," "B," "C," and "D" insisted that, in the fullest sense, to be a Chicana one had to be socially committed; one had to be involved in, and oriented to,the Chicano movement. "She the Chicana wants change," stated Chicana "B." "She's not satisfied." Chicana "D" asserted that, "The movement is part of the definition of what it is to be a Chicana; the two go together." In terms of her personal commitment to the movement, Chicana "B" poignantly states:

> Here in the barrio, going down Brooklyn, I feel very good. I feel like if outsiders, foreigners, were to come through I hope they see something more than poor houses, low-income stores, placas [grafitti] . I hope they see more like a beauty to it. I think it's like seeing brown faces and hearing the language of the people . . . . I think that the appearance of the barrio reminds me how much more I have to help my people. I think also of the children—you know how the children affect me a lot . . . . I walk with them and it reminds me how I gotta stay in school. I gotta stay in school so someday I can help them.

Only Chicana "E" did not agree that the term "Chicana" necessarily indicates involvement in the movement. She said:

> I don't think that I have to be part of the movement in order to be who I am, a Chicana. I think I'm part of the movement because my personal interests are very much in the community . . . . I think maybe they're both kind of coincidental things that happen to come together.

These women pointed out that these institutions are socializing the Chicana into traditional roles: the church, school, and family. In terms of the family, Chicana "E" illustrated a typical attitude toward an attempt to break the traditional mold:

> As much as I really enjoyed school . . . I was always in conflict over how much could I enjoy and still be acceptable. I was just always harking back to my mother's comments . . . "You want to be a career woman?" Like, I mean, that's worse than a prostitute! My God, a prostitute's a few steps above a career woman! . . . I think I changed as I saw my mother getting liberated—as I saw my mother beginning to find a place for herself on her own and being sort of proud of actually having a job.

Chicana "D" spoke of how the young girl was frequently prepared for marriage and motherhood as her only possible goals. She noted that many Chicanas today, however, both by individual and group effort, were trying to raise the level of awareness within the community to demonstrate that motherhood and careers need not be mutually exclusive. Chicana "A" pointed to the need for expansion of roles, not only in terms of career, but within the structure of the family itself. She spoke of this in personal terms:

> I was taught a role by mother. When I got married I tried to fulfill the role the same way that she had . . . . [I] caused a lot of conflict and a lot of unrest and unhappiness. So I had to search—it was very much like a spiritual search—I had to search for myself, for my own identity. I wanted to be a complete entity unto myself without being a part of my husband . . . . I just couldn't fit the role I had been taught . . . . [I]t meant a lot of trouble . . . . My husband was used to seeing the other type. Those first years were very rough.

As for the school in the barrio, Chicanas "C" and "D" emphasized the inadequacies of the school curriculum, which did not provide the Chicana with the goals or the skills needed for a woman to be independent economically. Chicana "C" asserted that too much emphasis was placed on domestic skills:

> We'll teach our daughters to cook and sew. The schools should get them ready for jobs and for college. At my work the men come in; they have some skills. We can find them jobs. The women—the women only have skills to be maids. Who in the hell needs a maid in East L.A.?

The church, and most especially the Roman Catholic Church, was accused of enforcing the status quo and of placing the burden of guilt on those who deviated from its norms. Chicana "A" states: "Church doctrine is not good; the Church doesn't accept me as me; it wants to put me in a box." Chicana "B" likewise noted, "The Church lays guilt trips on us." Chicana "C" echoes the preceding: "The [Church] doesn't let Chicanas think; it gives them the answers." Both Chicanas "D" and "E" spoke at length of the close integration of the teachings of the Church and the Chicana's culture. As Chicana "D" put it, "Just try a line or a separation between the Church and the culture. It's almost impossible . . . . Where does culture begin and end? Where does Church philosophy begin and end?" Chicanas "A," "B," and "E" spoke of the way social and religious events brought family and church together as a positive factor. *Familia* might enforce sex role scripting, but *familia* was, at the same time, the source of so much that was warm and good and not to be lost. Chicana "B" cautioned that Chicanas must be careful lest they lose the cultural richness born in familial ties: "To lose *familia* is to lose a basic source of our culture."

Questioned about the connection between the Women's Movement and the Chicana Movement, the interviewees made some definite distinctions. They saw Anglo feminists operating as individuals with individual goals. The Chicana was viewed as working in and through her community. They saw the Anglo woman's identity as being one dimensional, essentially involving her womanliness. On the other hand, the Chicana was seen as a woman and as a member of a given cultural group, the two factors seen as inseparable. Chicana "E" expressed this feeling:

> I feel that where I'm at as a Chicana is very much . . . a result of being a part of a Chicano community. I think that's a consciousness that does not exist within the white women's movement. I think that the particular problems of growing up as a Chicana are very different from the problems of growing up as an Anglo and an Anglo's sort of home atmosphere. I think we've had a very different experience growing up than other women have.

The thrust of the Anglo women's movement was viewed as being anti-male, while the Chicana was seen as being supportive of her male counterpart. The overall goal of Anglo women was seen by Chicana "A" as being ". . . simply competing with the man; she's out to prove she's as good as the man."

The social status of the Anglo woman as both woman and Anglo was not lost on the Chicanas interviewed. Chicana "B" stated, "They've got so much already; as far as I'm concerned they're on top of the pyramid; we're still at the bottom." "They're victimizers as well as victims," claimed Chicana "D." "They have suppressed minorities." In a less pointed fashion, Chicana "C" observed, "Our goals, our timetables have to go slower because of where we're at and who we are."

Interestingly enough, each Chicana had a different approach to the question of participation in the Women's Movement. All agreed that Chicanas had to get together as a united group. However, the variance lay in the way they saw their role in the Women's Movement at large. Chicana "A" suggested that coalitions might be an answer. Chicana "B" rejected such an alliance, stating, "They don't care about us; I don't think they think of us at all in their movement." Chicana "C" indicated that Chicanas could work with Anglos on specific projects, such as legislation, and on an ad hoc basis. Chicana "D" was not sure she could or could not work with them. A different approach was taken by Chicana "E": "One increases one's chances as one increases one's base. We can get farther by combining rather than by opposing. However, a certain amount of separation is necessary."

All the Chicana interviewees perceived their relationships with Chicanos similarly. They felt that their role was to help and support Chicanos. Chicanas "A," "B," and "C" even stated that they should be willing to take second place to Chicanos on certain occasions. Chicana "B" said, "I want to help the man first . . . . Gee, I hate saying that; I really suffered, too." Part of the continuing support the Chicana is expected to give the Chicano is the assurance that whenever Chicanas need to confront or challenge Chicanos, it will be done within the group, within la familia.

Referring to machismo, all saw this as a universal trait in men. Chicana "C" made the only distinction: "What's different about the Chicano is his style of machismo." Chicana "E" complained:

> I'm very resentful of Anglos trying to push this off. It's like they've taken it up as a cause, that Latinos are hung up on the machismo thing. I think that they really don't understand it. They don't understand it in terms of the culture. They love to harp on it. It's like a nagging sort of issue with them. No, I don't think I see it to the extent that Anglos would like for me to see it.

Overall, the goals of these Chicanas can be summarized in terms of community needs and priorities. Obliteration of racism as well as sexism is to be pursued. Self-determination and equal opportunity, especially in jobs and education, are to be actively sought. As a result of this effort, stereotypes of the Chicana would crumble and a sisterhood which was caring and supportive would evolve. In the words of Chicana "A," "A Chicana will have respect: respect for her ideas, respect for her rights, respect for her person."

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

A review of the literature and the interviews presents certain implications for educators to consider. The major educational implications of the Chicana's search for her identity come directly from the self-definition described previously: a woman seeking self-fulfillment in the context of her Chicana community.

The first educational implication is that a passionate and informed knowledge by the Chicana of her culture is a key to her self-fulfillment. Likewise, self-fulfillment is also to be achieved through the Chicana's full acceptance of, and glorification in, her unique womanliness, which is the second educational implication. The third, and most important, implication for education is that the first two are inseparable, a synthesis of the two major faces of the Chicana's life. To say "Chicana" is to speak of a fusion, an inclusion of the energies of culture and womanliness rather than a fragmenting of these.

Practical considerations that can begin to be implemented immediately flow from these three educational implications. Schools can begin, as some already have, to legitimize the culture of the Chicana child. The Chicana's family,

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community, traditions, heroines and heroes, lifestyles, and aspirations can be affirmed for her by the school through a curriculum charged by these elements. She needs teachers who can see value in her culture and can lead her to critically develop and strengthen her understanding and acceptance of the culture.

RESEARCH NEEDS ON LA CHICANA

To effectively carry out any practical programs for Chicanas, both in and out of school, a great deal more research is needed. The author feels that the purpose of research on the Chicana is to provide a foundation for directing efforts in three ways: to expand the Chicana's knowledge of role changes that have taken and are taking place among her hermanas, to expand her opportunities for beneficial personal and role diversification, and to inform non-Chicano peoples of the Chicana's contributions to female role development.

Historical documentation on the role of the woman in Mexican and Chicano societies has not yet come into its own. Much information exists as part of general historical, anthropological, sociological, and psychological works on the Mexican and Chicano, in songs and especially in oral tradition. To date, however, few efforts have been made to gather this material and to organize and analyze it for the lessons it might reveal. The recording of oral history on the Mexican and Chicana woman would seem to be a primary and very valuable source for researchers.[37] There is a need for documentation of the Chicana's history both in the land of her ancestry and in the United States. Furthermore, data should be gathered and analyzed to provide an adequate description of the Chicana's economic, political, educational, and social conditions in this country.

The Chicana's identity is an area for further research. Who is the Chicana? What are her many faces? What is valid sex role change for her in keeping with cultural identity? We must know what changes are taking place today among Chicanas as to their roles within the family and the larger society, and what changes have taken place in the past. How have women succeeded; how have they failed? What were the barriers placed before them? More basically, what do they consider as success; what changes, what goals are personal priorities for them? Also, additional studies need to be done of Chicana, Mexicana, and other Latina models of lifestyles for change.

The dynamics, as well as elements, of the Chicana-Chicano relationship should be considered. What has been the effect of the Chicano Movement on traditional male-female relations among single persons, among married persons, and because of the upward mobility of the woman? What is the role of the woman in the movement community? What forms of leadership has the Chicana taken who holds a designated leadership position as compared with the Chicana who is classified as a leader only because she demonstrates through her daily involvement accepted leadership practices? Has activism become a vehicle for personal change?

Research should describe the socialization influences exerted on the Chicana by family, school, and church. The teaching styles of Chicano and Mexican parents with relation to girls and to boys should be investigated with respect to socialization in the schools. Researchers would do well to investigate the "hidden

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curriculum" utilized with the Chicana student. How does the institution, as well as individual school personnel, perceive her? How do they attempt to provide her supportive resources? What are their expectations of her? What is the mode of interaction between Chicana student and teacher?

Finally, the Chicana, through internships and training, needs to develop the skills of research. If she is not taught such skills by those most concerned and able, she will once again endure exclusion, and the research on her and her needs will not achieve full legitimacy within the community.

The thoughts shared in these pages have reflected specific concerns touching upon la Chicana. This is one image of that panoramic vision to be seen when speaking of the Hispanic woman. The needs and problems described here ought to be considered when examining the culture role and the sex role of each Hispanic woman, whatever her ancestry. Collectively and singularly, there is a feeling of glory in being a member of La Raza. Hispanic women are emerging in this society and are taking leadership positions. Leadership, a directional force, must clearly define, understand, and implement those strategies that will best serve la mujer. If self-determination is not actualized, others will utilize a regulating force to determine who the Hispanic woman will become. That would be a loss to the Nation. Thus, it is with great hope and confidence that the author invokes the spirit of her hermanas, las mujeres de nuestra raza.

NOTES

[1] Asa G. Hilliard III. Winter 1975. Motivating oneself to learn and teach in a non-sexist way, Journal of Teacher Education 26:3111. Hilliard alludes to the danger of this propensity in stating: "One of the recurrent fallacies in human problem solving activities in the United States is the assumption that a problem can be defined so that a single definition will apply across the board to diverse groups. This is sometimes called the 'assumption of universality.' A failure to understand this principle will lead inevitably to misunderstandings and blind alleys. For example, the experiences of black women and white women in America have been radically different. This can be documented very easily and should come as a surprise to no one."

[2] National Education Association. 1975. Women's Rights Task Force Report, Washington, D.C., pp. 6-7. Data on minority women did not provide statistics on Native Americans and Asians as this information was not available for the report.

[3] U.S. Department of Commerce. May 1974. Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, March 1973. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. As quoted by Project on the Status and Education of Women. March 1975. Spanish Speaking Women and Higher Education: A Review of Their Current Status. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, pp. 2-3.

[4] Anna Nieto-Gómez. Spring 1973. Chicanas in the labor force, *Encuentro Femenil* 1:39-40, 42-46.

[5] Anna Nieto-Gómez. Spring 1973. The Chicana - perspectives for education, *Encuentro Femenil* 1:25.

[6] Yolanda Nava. 1973. The Chicana and employment: needs analysis and recommendations for legislation, *Regeneración* 2(3):8-9. See also, Yolanda Nava. Employment counseling and the Chicana. *Encuentro Femenil* 1:25.

[7] Armando Rendón. 1971. *Chicano Manifesto, the History and Aspirations of the Second Largest Minority in America*. New York: Collier Books, p. 184.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez. 1972. The women of La Raza. In *Aztlán, an Anthology of Mexican American Literature*. Edited by Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner. New York: Random House, Inc., p. 272.

[10] Irene Rodarte. 1973. Machismo vs. revolution. In *La Mujer—En Pié de Lucha*. Edited by Dorinda Moreno. México-San Francisco: Espina del Norte, p. 254.

[11] Elena García. Chicana consciousness: A new perspective, a new hope. In *La Mujer*, pp. 4-5.

[12] Abelardo, "La Hembra." In *Chicano, 25 Pieces of Chicano Mind*. Quoted in Bernice Rincón. La Chicana, her role in the past and her search for a new role in the future. *Regeneración* 2(4)38.

[13] Abelardo Delgado. December 1974. Machismo, *La Luz*, p. 6.

[14] Chicanas take wrong direction, May 1973. *Popo Femenil*. California State University, Northridge (Chicano Student Newspaper), Special Edition, p. 3. Quoted in La Femenista. 1974. *Encuentro Femenil* 1(2):35-36.

[15] Anna Nieto-Gómez. 1974. La femenista, *Encuentro Femenil* 1(2):35-36.

[16] *Ibid*., p. 36.

[17] Isabel Hernández. The role of the Chicana in the movimiento. In *La Mujer*, pp. 254-256.

[18] *Ibid*., p. 256.

[19] Women struggle. April 1976. *Women Struggle*. California State University, Northridge. (Unofficial newspaper in support of Anna Nieto-Gómez), p. 1.

[20] Patricia M. Vásquez. *Legal Rights of Minority Women*. Speech given at National Education Association's 15th Annual Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education: "Women's Rights: A Force for Educational Equity," Washington, D.C., February 20, 1976.

[21] HEMBRA—a unique feminism. March 1976. La Luz, pp. 16-17.

[22] Flora Ida Ortiz. La Chicana: Her Role in the Educational Process. Unpublished paper delivered at a conference of the State Convention of the Association of Mexican-American Educators, Los Angeles, October 1974.

[23] Anna Nieto-Gómez. La Femenista, pp. 43-46.

[24] Mirta Vidal. 1971. Women: new voice of La Raza. In Chicanas Speak Out. New York: Pathfinder Press, Inc., pp. 7-9.

[25] Consuelo Nieto. Spring 1974. The Chicana and the women's rights movement: a perspective, Civil Rights Digest 6:42.

[26] Isabelle Navar. 1974. Como chicana mi madre, Encuentro Femenil 1(2):9-10.

[27] Octavio Paz. 1961. The Labyrinth of Solitude, Life and Thought in Mexico. Translated by Lysander Kemp. New York: Grove Press, Inc., pp. 35-36.

[28] Ibid., p. 38.

[29] Leticia Hernández. 1971. Hijas de Cuauhtémoc, Regeneración 1(10):9.

[30] Octavio Paz. Labyrinth, pp. 65-88.

[31] Adelaida del Castillo. 1974. Malintzin Tenépal: A preliminary look into a new perspective, Encuentro Femenil 1(2):71.

[32] Marina y la Conquista de México. In La Mujer, pp. 152-153. This woman was a female replica of those heroic adventurers . . . . [D] oña Marina, although being a woman of the earth, had the strength of a young man . . . . we never seek weakness, only the great strength of a woman. Translated by Consuelo Nieto.

[33] Francisco Larroyo. 1973. Historia Comparada de la Educación en México. México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., p. 168.

[34] Octavio Paz. Labyrinth, pp. 115-116.

[35] Francisco Larroyo. Historia, p. 169.

[36] Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. 1971. "Redondillas" (Hombres necios que acusáis). In Obras Completas. México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1975, p. 109. Translated by Bernice Rincón in Regeneración 1(10):21.

[37] Arleen Stewart. 1973. Las Mujeres de Aztlán: A Consultation With Elderly Mexican-American Women in a Socio-Historical Perspective. Doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology.

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THE NEED FOR AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND COGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE EDUCATION OF HISPANIC WOMEN

Silvia Viera

THE EDUCATION OF THE PUERTO RICAN WOMAN: TRADITIONAL ROLES

Introduction

Mankind/womankind or, more generically speaking, humankind, needs delivery from all sorts of ancestral and current abuse, be it physical or psychological. Mistreatment breeds oppression, which results in frustration, anxiety, and inadequate perceptions of self. Women, men, and children seek liberation in their relationships to all others within the framework of their societies, in general, and in the contexts of family and work, in particular.

Dr. Thomas Szasz, in his book, Ideology and Insanity, defines liberation as the state in which human beings are able to make coercion-free decisions.[1] We agree with Dr. Szasz and would like to stress that liberation must encompass all ethnic, racial, age, and sex groups. Women cannot be emancipated without the concomitant emancipation of men, and children cannot be emancipated without the corresponding emancipation of adults. Likewise, the Third World countries and their populations cannot be emancipated without the parallel emancipation of the so-called "white North America" and of Western Europe.

The liberation of women cannot be attained without or apart from the liberation of men and children because many of their shackles lie within the realms of marriage and parenthood. Tradition has enchained women as much as it has enchained men. Therefore, societal roles and mores are the enemies in the war against sexism; women, men, and children are all victims of these traditional roles. Yet, women's struggle for liberation cannot be seen in a strictly sexual context. The liberation of women involves only a fraction of the total human problem.

Nilda Aponte Raffaele, a Puerto Rican feminist, says:

> The fight for liberation has many fronts, all of them part of the same battlefront. These are 1) the struggle against nationalistic divisiveness; 2) the fight for the self-determination of all nations; 3) the fight for social justice; 4) the fight for civil rights; and 5) the struggle for the optimum realization of the potential of every human being. [Translated by the author of this paper.]

Yet, each of the arenas in the struggle for universal liberation must, nonetheless, be viewed first in terms of the sociocultural framework of the diverse social groups. Not only do the typologies of roles and functions vary from culture to culture, but they also vary from one subcultural group to another. Social class and

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education affect, to a considerable degree, the typology of roles for women and men within a given society. The totality of perceptions and attitudes about roles remains the fundamental obstacle to the liberation of women. Some of these roles are inherited; others are adopted; and, in some cases, they are "self-inflicted."

The Women's Research Project, the organizer of this conference, has identified as one fundamental area in the fight for feminine liberation "the internal forces, [defined as the] attitudes and motivations which are internalized into women's belief systems, as well as external factors such as unequal educational programs and facilities."

Because the upbringing and the education of women are the "external factors" that may result in a diminished self-image, we must direct our efforts for the liberation of sisterhood at both the nonformal and the formal system of education.

The Educational Equity Group's Program noted that: "The roots of the problem begin in early socialization of females, which trains them to expect and to seek a very limited range of occupational options."[2] Obviously, this is a valid statement. Women do not seek a wide range of occupational options, yet this is only the external aspect of a cultural syndrome beginning at birth and ending only with death. The root of the problem lies in the patriarchal nature of white-oriented societies and their middle-class-dominated educational systems.

Informal Education of the Puerto Rican Female

From the moment that a Puerto Rican woman conceives, she is subject to three different kinds of psychological assault. First, throughout the period of gestation, she hears the husband's repeated hopes that their firstborn will be a male. Pride in bearing a first male child is such an entrenched value that Puerto Rican women feel the need to please the husband and to make him proud of her by "bearing him" a son first. Birth of a female first child provides the mother with a feeling of failure and causes the husband grave disappointment. Second, the way men view women who are pregnant is expressed in the ribald jokes that are frequently said to them on the street. Many allusions are made to the marital acts that end in pregnancy. Third, because of her "heightened" position as the bearer of her husband's hoped-for son and grandson of the husband's family, the new mother-to-be is either practically dominated by the in-laws or made totally responsible for the welfare of the child she is carrying. Activities such as sports or dancing are now frowned upon. During the late months of their wives' pregnancy, many husbands feel embarrassed in public and refuse to take their wives out.

On the birth of a child, the mother becomes a second-class citizen. If a male, the child may be named in order of descendance of all males in the family. The naming of children in Hispanic cultures shows the preferred status of males. "Junior," "the First," "the Second," etc., are nominatives reserved for the male. Furthermore, the mother's name is either dropped or used as an initial next to the paternal family name. Thus begins a new generation of male hegemony and of the female's lowered status relative to the males in the family. The patriarchal system perpetuates itself through the way women are accepted into the world, raised, and then trained to accept a secondary role to all male members in the blood and political families.

In a research study titled *Culturally Democratic Learning Environments: A Cognitive Styles Approach (A Manual for Teachers)*, the authors state, "A child's culture represents a real and solid world . . . a world which has taught him [sic] how to think, and feel, and most importantly how to learn."[3] Through this initial core of education, the primary or family context, the perception of roles begins to take shape, since the socialization of the child involves two unconscious processes: those of learning both how to value status and learning how to approve roles. One of the constructs of cultural behavior is that assigned to sex. Women are valued in different ways from men. Furthermore, since the contexts for differentiated valuation are culturally determined, the narrowness of the contexts wherein a female child is valued, as opposed to the amplitude provided for male dominance and prestige, results in inhibition, in a sense of inferiority, and ultimately, in defensiveness.

To reap acceptance and reward, a Puerto Rican female, regardless of age, must be conforming, gentle, and submissive. The male is expected to be rebellious, assertive, and domineering. For either sex to change the pattern of expected behavior is to behave outside the established roles for each and to face social ostracism in one way or another, regardless of the context: family, peer, or work relationships.

Research also shows that various social groups value different intellectual characteristics in the sexes, and that these sex-differentiated expectations are passed on to each new generation. Through encouragement and reward, intellectual achievements of the young are reinforced and become the cognitive and affective bases of that group's learning styles.

Madson, a psychologist from the University of California at Los Angeles, also studied differences in motivational styles arising from cultural differences:

> These differences in learning and incentive-motivational styles between members of different ethnic groups are the end result of socialization styles reflecting the values of ethnic groups . . . the middle points in this process are the *teaching styles of mothers* and resulting differences in cognitive styles of children.[4]

Therefore, it is reasonable to surmise that values and roles in a patriarchal, male-oriented society will find their way into the teaching styles that mothers use with their children, and especially with their female children, since in patriarchal societies like the Puerto Rican it is assumed that "the girls belong to the home, and the sons belong to the street." (The author, born of, and raised in, a Puerto Rican family where socialization of the female was female-dominated, heard this many times.)

A female child's style of learning is based largely on the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors exhibited by her mother and passed on to her from female ancestor to female ancestor.

Formal Education of the Puerto Rican Female

In Puerto Rican society, the roles assigned to women in the work world have not changed as rapidly as in North American society. Since the beginning of a

Puerto Rican creole society in the 19th century, one of the vocations approved for women has been that of elementary teacher. The University of Puerto Rico, founded in 1903, opened a normal school shortly thereafter. Since women were not supposed to teach after marriage, most teachers were single. During her formative years, the education of the female child was in the hands of women. Thus, in both the home and the school, her daily learning experiences were female oriented. In this manner, the school's expectations reinforced those in the home. The females were taught from early childhood to be feminine, gentle, virtuous, and obedient and to educate themselves to become "good wives, housewives, and mothers," never to be lawyers, doctors, engineers, journalists, or accountants.

Luisa Capetillo, an anarchist who in 1910 dedicated her first book with the words:

> A tí madre mía que jamás me impusistes, ni obligastes a pensar de acuerdo con la tradición. Y me dejastes indagar libremente, reprochando solamente mis exageraciones. . . .[5]

would nevertheless exhort her sisters to be gentle and self-effacing:

> . . . una mujer limpia, exacta, cariñosa, indulgente y persuasiva, hará las delicias del marido. Si él es bueno, atento y cariñoso, hareís una pareja ideal. Si por el contrario, es áspero, es incomplaciente y egoísta, tratad de educarlo, procurad persuadirlo y tened suma paciencia para conservar la paz; no os pongais a contestarle con asperezas, al igual que él. Todo lo más suave y armoniosa que podáis. No le demostreis que teneis más suave y armoniosa que podáis. No le demostreis que teneis más razón que él, esperad que él os la dé, de acuerdo con el sistema actual, que no reconoce que la mujer pueda tener razón.

This was written by a feminist and a staunch believer in free love. As late as 1910, feminists were still advocating that women had no rights to their opinions because "the system does not recognize that a woman can be right" and that a wife should "wait for the husband to acknowledge that she is right." Women such as these were to become the first Puerto Rican teachers and some of the pamphleteers and political activists as the dawn of a new era broke over the New World. Regardless of their own liberation, they helped to perpetuate the myth that women could not and should not be assertive. Were all women willing to accept this type of discrimination within their own culture?

The history of feminism in Puerto Rico proves that some women born into the elite class and the working classes, some educated by European tutors and others self-educated, were willing to assert their own rights as well as to lead others.

But the Feminist Movement in Puerto Rico was not conceived only in terms of sex roles. There were more important considerations, and uppermost among them was the struggle for freedom from political oppression. Since the late 1800's, the Puerto Rican leaders fighting Spanish tyranny included women who not only fought side by side with their husbands and sons against the Spanish militia,but also served as couriers for the Puerto Rican insurrectionists.

Since 1902 feminine members of the aristocracy and of the working class became active in the liberation and emancipation of their sisters. But the middle-class women continued to perpetuate the self-fulfilling prophecy of their inferiority and, as teachers in the classrooms, became instrumental in passing it on to the generations of younger females.

We theorize that education conceived and implemented by the middle class has failed to recognize the need for human liberation, particularly female liberation. In Puerto Rico, few teachers are active in the Women's Liberation Movement.

Primary schools are still mainly the charge of white, middle-class women. Curriculum, methodological, and evaluation components are oriented toward male domination. Not only will future generations of white, Anglo women internalize their own inferiority, but they will not allow the Hispanic, working-class females to destroy the myth and discard the image of her dual inferiority: first, for being "non-white," and second, for being female.

Puerto Rican and other Hispanic female teachers and their students are not helped by the schools in the countries of their origin to develop a positive image of themselves. Puerto Rican history, literature, institutions, and government do not provide positive roles and models for feminine success. Witness the following testimony:[6]

> En la literatura puertorriqueña los personajes principales, los héroes, son los hombres. Esto se puede ver, por tomar al azar, en los cuentos de José Luis Gonzáles, René Marqués, Emilio Díaz Valcárcel, Pedro Juan Soto o en cualquiera de nuestros más connotados escritores. Así en José Luis Gonzáles, lo encontramos en sus cuentos "La mujer y el cobarde." En René Marqués en "Dos vueltas de llave y un arcángel," "En la popa hay un cuerpo reclinado," "La crucificción de Miss Bunning," "La sala," y "El cuchillo y la piedra." De igual manera, Pedro Juan Soto en su libro de cuentos Spiks y en su novela Usmail, al igual que Emilio Díaz Valcárcel en su cuento "El asedio." Todos en una actitud reaccionaria que los empuja al pesimismo literario han pretendido glorificar el reaccionario concepto del machismo puertorriqueño.

With this kind of literary fare, female students in Puerto Rico are indoctrinated into male misinterpretations of womanhood, despite the fact that the female writers we alluded to at the beginning of this paper have been excellent. For example, Ana Roqué de Duprey displayed such scholarship in philosophy and astronomy that France made her an honorary member of its Astronomy Society. Puerto Rican women have internalized the sex stereotypes and have not counterattacked with their own literary weapons.

Unfortunately, despite scattered efforts and occasional successes, women have never been in decisionmaking positions in the government and in the educational system in Puerto Rico. Also, very few, if any, have achieved higher positions in the United States.

A new dawn is breaking. Puerto Rican women in the political and professional worlds and in the field of research concerning women's untapped potential serve as harbingers to design innovative educational programs that will help place the new generation of women where they belong: side by side with men.

THE EDUCATION OF THE PUERTO RICAN WOMAN: A NEW APPROACH

The Anthropological Discussion

Three human activities, all social in nature, must be considered in a theory of education. These three are language, social structure, and world view. Some anthropologists would classify all three under one term: culture.

Among the definitions of culture that we prefer is that given by George F. Kneller:

> By a "particular culture" we mean the total shared way of life of a given people, comprising their modes of thinking, acting and feeling, which are expressed, for instance, in religion, law, language, art and custom, as well as in material products such as houses, clothes, and tools.[7]

Paul Bohannan ties language and culture into an indivisible code: "Culture is a double code, both internally (biochemically) and externally (socially) acquired. Language is culture and culture is coded in language."[8]

And Franz Fanon goes further into this indivisible entity: "To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to group the morphology of this and that language but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization."[9]

It is considered an axiom that through language we acquire and mold our status in society and assume the roles that go with that status. (Status is defined as a position in the overall social structure; role is defined as the behaviors attached to status.)

How we perceive ourselves and how others perceive us are intrinsic aspects of our individual psyche and of our social personality. This dual perception affects our behaviors and determines the extent or degree of our conformity or rebellion. Yet, society holds the tools for ensuring conformity. Without the mechanisms for unity and organization within the social structure, cultures would disintegrate and become extinct. Thus, each society evolves a system of enculturation which cannot be left to chance. One of the subsystems is the family; another is religion; the third is schooling or formalized education. "Education is the inculcation in each generation of certain knowledge, skills and attitudes, deliberately created for this end."[10] Since education is a means of enculturation into the society, the values, the mores, and the behaviors that form the configuration of that culture are transmitted in toto to the new generations by their elders.

Therefore, our concern as women of the Third World is to examine the language of education. Language is the instrument for enculturating and educating future generations of Hispanic women--daughters, wives, and mothers--and especially those who will become educators and teachers. But, most important, language is the instrument for knowledge. Our use of language enables us to think, and it is through language that we learn. Education is primarily couched in language, and language is essential to the process of cognition. "By teaching students to manipulate verbal symbols and other sorts of signs we can help them analyze existing ideas or create new ideas. In other words, we can help them solve problems."[11] The women of the so-called minorities experience these problems not only in this country, but in our countries of origin. Through language, the educational establishment has labeled us; and, what is worse, we have accepted and attached those labels to ourselves.

Breaking the Cultural Code

The Second Industrial Revolution has turned our agricultural societies into technological monsters of nuclear-propelled weapons and electronically controlled production, transportation, and communication. Science has taken over the goals of education, and specialization dominates professionalism. Women are viewed as inferior to men within a society that increasingly commits its fiscal and human resources to science and technology. After all, men are assumed to excel in the scientific disciplines and their applied fields. The world of technology is in their hands, and technology governs our world. Despite professional and economic redress, women are still considered intellectually inferior to men. Despite the inclusion of statements of compliance to affirmative action, the recruitment practices of private and public institutions of business, banking, industry, communication, and education prove that women are considered inferior. The fruits of research go unheeded, regardless of the benefits to society.

The studies conducted on creativity and sex differences show that where "creativity refers to task performance on dimensions variously labelled 'divergent thinking,' 'ideational fluency,' 'associated productivity,' 'originality,' 'uniqueness,' 'spontaneous flexibility' or other related constructs, consistent sex differences have not been found."[12]

Once it is assumed that there are no genetic differences in the cognitive and creative potential of the sexes, a system of education that runs counter to culturally molded and culturally coded sex discrimination must be devised.

The control aspect of a new approach to the education of women is their psychological makeup and their patterns of behavior vis-a-vis the males in the educational establishment. In cultures where women have been raised and educated to be pale versions of their masculine peers, it is not surprising to find that they behave as if they actually were inferior.

The research carried out in terms of the sex differences manifested in attainment of Ph. D's, productivity in publication, creativity, and other education and education-related contexts shows that:

- There is no sex difference in quantity of publication or in level of performance of male and female Ph. D's.

- ". . . males and females are differentially affected by the kinds of testing and experimental contexts employed to assess or alter levels of divergent creative thinking."
- Characteristics identified with sex roles affect female performance more often than male performance.

Thus, it is the psychological roots of the female personality that condition her performance in the following ways:[13]

- The repression of the feminine character among male learners interferes with the expression of creativity.
- The defensiveness in female learners would entail the repression of masculinity, which, in turn, would contribute to inhibition of creativity.
- Males tend to be more impulsive and undercontrolled than females.
- Sex differences in cognitive functioning are the result of greater inhibition of females.

Female inhibition in the presence of male peers or male examiners is, then, a factor in the level of performance. The pattern of findings discussed suggests that ideational

> . . . fluency and uniqueness for males is largely determined by internal cognitive factors. External situational influences have some impact on males' performance, but not enough to disrupt long-term consistency of performance when the assessment situation changes. Ideational fluency and uniqueness in females, on the other hand, seem to be more susceptible to the social context in which they are assessed . . . . Performance in the creativity domain is apparently more contextually bound for females than males.[14]

Though most of the research mentioned is of a speculative nature, there are strong implications that: (1) men are freer than females from the external factors that limit impulsiveness, uniqueness, and creativity; (2) repression and inhibition of the same character traits in females characterize their performance; and (3) professional and political success is not conditioned by enculturation and miseducation.

A Proposal for Change

First, conferences like this, sponsored by women's research groups, can help break the myths of cognitive tracking.

Second, the myths of male superiority, as perpetuated by male researchers, educators, and writers, must be dispelled by females in these same occupations. It is disheartening to note how even avowed scientists disseminate the myth of male superiority. I quoted George F. Kneller's book, Educational Anthropology: An

Introduction, as advocating that "cultural factors are frustrating" the capability of education and the need for educators and anthropologists to collaborate.[15] Kneller expressed the myth in this way:

> One way to enhance the prestige and authority of the teacher is to attract more men into the profession, especially at the elementary level. Another way is to shorten hours of work, so that men may spend more time at home. Both should lead to a *resurgence of masculine* authority, not only in the school but also in the family. The youth of America cannot but benefit, for not only do men by and large treat children less sentimentally than women, but boys need men to imitate and girls need the mature guidance and counsel that older men offer. [Emphasis added.]

Third, women educators should propound curriculums for all schools, public and private, in which cognition is the goal, rather than factual, subject-matter-oriented learning. In such a curriculum, learning would be process oriented. All current evidence shows that training in thought processes is transferable because it is independent of subject matter. As feminists and educators, we should object to content-oriented subject matter because it helps to perpetuate the myths that sex determines potential and because it conditions performance.

Curriculums designed around the sensory, affective, and reflective uses of language, regardless of the discipline, would allow all learners to perform at the highest levels, since "meaning . . . is a function of the cortex in action . . . meaning is the 'stuff' of consciousness," and consciousness is primarily linguistic. Language and thought are not male prerogatives.

An examination of language, oral language first and written language next, would uncover values, beliefs, and attitudes that are the result of female indoctrination and acceptance of limited status and inferior roles. The research cited in this paper shows that *external* factors, not internal ones, are responsible for the repressive and inhibitory behavior in women's performance of creative tasks.

If following the Whorfian hypothesis leads us to concur that the structure of language mirrors the structure of reality as each culture perceives and acts on it, language as the content of education would depict how women view themselves in relation to men and to each other.[16]

Fourth, since the immediate cause of social change is human dissatisfaction, feminist groups should not limit their struggle to opening up the working environment to their ranks. Of higher priority is the political action to be carried out in the educational establishment, from the local school board to the directorship of the U.S. Office of Education, and in the fields of politics and journalism. Women are few and scattered in all policymaking offices, organizations, and institutions. We need to strike out for all types of offices and positions where decisions that affect our lives are being made. Hispanic women, in particular, should seek offices where decisions are *really* made, both in their countries of origin and in the United States.

Fifth, revolutions are started by a few creative individuals. Women can initiate changes in the cultural patterns that enslave them. Since education, especially elementary education, is the bailiwick of women, political activists should seek Government, foundation, and women's group funding to conduct local, regional, and national seminars for teachers on the emancipation of women. What lesbians and homosexuals have done for sex politics, women educators must do for educational politics.

Finally, since language and emancipation alone cannot liberate women from centuries of universal oppression or from their feelings of inferiority, we could propose a framework for a conceptual curriculum where the female teacher and the female learner would seek their place in society, a self-appointed place not handed down by centuries of misperception and misappreciation.

A Framework for a Process-Oriented Curriculum Based on Cultural Equality

Some of the areas and concepts to be developed are taken from the work done by the staff of the Center for Applied Linguistics and three consultants, of whom the author of this paper was one.[17] The work of female educators drafting a curriculum for emancipation would be to view all areas of existing curriculums as sexist traps and identify, organize, and produce content where concepts are less important than the processing of facts.

To advance physical and intellectual competence, women must:

- Understand the rate and sequence of linguistic development, including group and individual variations within the "normal" range and their interrelationships with cognitive development and socialization.
- Know which culturally determined concepts children bring with them regarding the nature of work and play, appropriate expectancies and role behavior (specific to culture, age, and sex), and different styles of coping and learning.

To build a positive self-concept and individual strength, women should:

- Know what a positive self-concept entails within specific cultures.
- Demonstrate the ability to acquire relevant culture-specific information from children and their parents.

To organize and sustain the positive functioning of children and adults in a group in a learning environment, one must:

- Demonstrate respect for the child's own cultural constraints on behavior.
- Understand the ways order is maintained in adult-child relationships in his (her) family and community--how the child is being socialized and enculturated.

To bring about optimal coordination of home and center child-rearing practices and expectations, it is important to:

- Understand the culture-specific expectations and values of the children's community and family.
- Understand how information is transmitted in the community.
- Know how decorum is maintained—what sanctions are used and by whom. (It is particularly important to know which control measures are perceived as acts of hostility, and which of love.)

At every level of a system of formal education for women whose main goals are the liberation of their individual and collective selves from both external (sociocultural) and internal (psychosocial) factors, the targets for correction are the languages used in the educational establishment, the basis of curriculum selection and instruction, the attitudes of all school personnel toward the sexes, and the role that schools will play in community education.

The use of a curriculum based on language(s) and concepts would, of necessity, have a cultural and cognitive base, but unlike culturally determined curriculums, it would do away with the stereotypes, myths, and inequalities that Western cultures hold about the inferiority of women in the realms of intellect, creativity, and leadership.

NOTES

[1] Thomas Szasz, as quoted by Nilda Aponte Raffaele in Liberación humana, liberación femenina, in El Tacón de la Chancleta, 1, p. 10, (San Juan), 1975. (My translation.)

[2] National Institute of Education, Women's Research Program, Education Equity Group, p. 1.

[3] Systems and Evaluation in Education, 1972, Culturally Democratic Learning Environments: A Cognitive Styles Approach, A Manual for Teachers (Riverside, California), pp. 9-10.

[4] Ibid., p. 10. Emphasis in the original.

[5] Nancy Zayas and Juan Angel Silen, 1972, La Mujer in la Lucha Hoy (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Kikiriki), p. 19. Emphasis added.

[6] Ibid., p. 10.

[7] George F. Kneller, 1966, Educational Anthropology: An Introduction (New York: John Wiley and Sons), p. 4.

[8] Bohannon, Paul, October 1973, Rethinking culture: A project for current anthropologists, Current Anthropology 14(4):357-365.

[9] Franz Fanon, 1967, Black Skin, White Masks (New York: Grove Press, Inc.).

[10] Kneller, p. 11.

[11] Eugene A. Brunelle, 1973, The biology of meaning, The Journal of Creative Behavior 7(1):1.

[12] Nathan Kogan, 1974, Creativity and sex differences, The Journal of Creative Behavior 8(1):1.

[13] Ibid., pp. 2-4.

[14] Ibid., pp. 9-11.

[15] Kneller, p. 14.

[16] Benjamin Whorf, a North American anthropologist, views language as the structuring of our world view. What a language does not name, its speakers do not perceive.

[17] Center for Applied Linguistics, August 1973, Preliminary Competencies for the Child Development Associate Working with Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Children (Arlington, Virginia), pp. 2-3.

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Zayas, Nancy, and Juan A. Silen. 1972. *La Mujer en la Lucha Hoy*. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Kikiriki.

Appendixes

APPENDIX A

The names of the conference participants, their roles, their affiliations in 1976, and their current addresses are listed below.

Name and Address	Type of Participation	Affiliation in 1976
Nancy Ayala-Moore Dept. of Elementary Education The City College of CUNY 136 St. and Convent Avenue New York, NY 10031	Paperwriter Group II	Bilingual General Assistance Center Teachers College, New York City Formerly Nancy Ayala-Vásquez
Polly Baca-Barragán State Senator 8747 Santa Fe Drive Denver, CO 80221	Paperwriter Group I	State Assemblywoman Colorado
Patricia Benavídez Washington Education Association 910 Fifth Avenue Seattle, WA 98104	Discussant Group II	Elementary Physical Education Specialist Tacoma, Washington
María Angélica Bithorn Education Consultant Coordinator, Resource Center for Puerto Rican Women 169 Seymour Street Hartford, CT 16106	Paperwriter Group II	Education Consultant
Cecilia Preciado de Burciaga Assistant Provost and Director of Summer Session Stanford University Stanford, CA 94305	Chairperson Group II	Assistant to the President and Vice Provost for Chicano Affairs Stanford University
María Josefa Canino Puerto Rican Studies Livingston College Rutgers University New Brunswick, NJ 08907	Cochairperson Group II	Same as in 1980
María B. Cerda Trustee 9029 South Bennett Avenue Chicago, IL 60617	Discussant Group I	Executive Director of Latino Institute, Chicago
Glady Correa deceased	Paperwriter Group I	State Department of Education, Long Island, NY
Grace Flores-Hughes Social Science Analyst Assistant Secretary for Planning & Evaluation Dept. of Health and Human Services 200 Independence Avenue S.W. Room 424E Washington, DC 20201	Discussant Group I	Office of the Spanish-Surnamed Americans Office of the Secretary
Frieda García Director, Consulting & Evaluation S. C. Fuller Mental Health Center 85 East Newton Street Boston, MA 02118	Paperwriter Group I	Same as in 1980

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Name and Address	Type of Participation	Affiliation in 1976
Sylvia Gonzales Mexican-American Graduate Studies San Jose State University San Jose, CA 95192	Paperwriter Group II	Same as in 1980
Lourdes Miranda President of L. Miranda Associates ACCESS, Inc. (non-profit) 4340 East West Highway, Suite 906 Bethesda, MD 20014	Discussant Group II	Same as in 1980
Pauline Martínez Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 2777 Scottsdale Drive San Jose, CA 95148	Discussant Group I	Vice President of ERCAMAW (Educational Research Corporation for the Advancement of Mexican-American Women)
Elena Berezaluce Mulcahy Director, Dept. of Multilingual Education Chicago Board of Education 228 North LaSalle, Room 604 Chicago, IL 60601	Paperwriter Group I	Director, Multicultural Division Chicago Board of Education
Consuelo Nieto School of Education California State University Long Beach, CA 90840	Paperwriter Group I	Same as in 1980
Josephine Nieves U.S. Community Services Adm. 26 Federal Plaza New York, NY 10009	Paperwriter Group I	Center for Puerto Rican studies at the City University of New York
Flora Ortiz School of Education University of California Riverside, CA 92502	Discussant Group II	Same as in 1980
María Ramírez Asst. Commissioner for General Education and Curricular Services State Department of Education The University of the State of New York Albany, NY 12234	Chairperson Group I	Director of Bilingual Education, NY State Department of Education
Imelda Ramos Evaluation, Dissemination & Assessment Center for Bilingual Education (EDACBE) 7703 North Lamar Austin, TX 78752	Cochairperson Group I	Formerly with General Assistance Center, Desegregation Center University of Texas and representing ERCAMAW (Educational Research Corporation for the Advancement of Mexican- American Women)
Marta Sotomayor Special Assistant to the Administrator Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration Parklawn Building, Room 13C26 5600 Fishers Lane Rockville, MD 20857	Discussant Group II	Associate Dean University of Houston
Theresa Aragón Valdez University of Washington School of Social Work, JC-14 Seattle, WA 98195	Paperwriter Group I	Same as in 1980 Formerly Theresa Aragón Shepro

Name and Address	Type of Participation	Affiliation in 1976
Rosa Jiménez-Vásques Virginia Commonwealth University School of Social Work 1001 Franklin Street, Raleigh Bldg. Richmond, VA	Paperwriter Group II	School of Social Work Florida State University
Silvia Viera Retired Apartado 81-e Ruta 1 Luquillo, PR 00673	Paperwriter Group II	Director and Professor of Bilingual Education Professor and Coordinator of Bilingual Studies, University of Massachusetts and Graduate School University of Puerto Rico
Paquita Vivo 927 15th Street N.W. Apartment 512 Washington, DC 20005	Discussant Group I	Freelancer in Public Information

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE OF NIE-FUNDED PROJECTS

The projects listed in this appendix include institutional grants, contract awards, and small and large research grants in progress during 1980. The projects selected for this list are expected to be of special interest to the readers of the proceedings from the minority women's conferences and are culled from a much larger set of awards relevant to minority and women's issues. They should not be considered representative of all NIE-sponsored minority- and women-related projects. Obviously, although NIE will continue to fund projects that address similar issues and the problems of these target populations, the specific substantive areas and focus of inquiry will change from year to year.

Readers interested in more comprehensive and detailed information concerning NIE-sponsored research on minority and women's issues are invited to write for the following publications from: Publications Office, The National Institute of Education, 1200 19th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20208.

1. Minorities and Women's Program

2. A compendium of bilingual education and related projects

3. Sex equity in education: NIE-sponsored projects and publications.

The projects in the following list are arranged according to the program groups monitoring them: Teaching and Learning (T&L), Dissemination and Improvement of Practice (DIP), and Educational Policy and Organization (EPO).

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Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
National Center for Bilingual Research	Candido Antonio de Leon 4665 Lampson Avenue Los Alamitos	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Research in language acquisition, language functioning, bilingual education; publications.
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education	Joel Gomez 1500 Wilson Blvd. Rosslyn, VA 22209	Reading & Language Studies, T&L; Office of Bilingual Education	Computerized database; information services; technical assistance; toll-free hotline (800)336-4560; 40 language groups
Bilingual effects of community and schools	Steven Arvizu Cross-Cultural Resource Center, California State University Sacramento, CA 95819	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Mexican-American, Puerto Rican & Chicano Students; home and school relationships
Bilingual effects of community & schools	Sau-lim Tsang ARC Associates, Inc. 310 8th Street, Suite 220 Oakland, CA 94607	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Chinese students language attitudes; language assessment
Bilingual effects of community & schools	Dillon Platero Navajo Center for Educ. Research 1200 West Apache Road Farmington, NM 87401	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Navajo students
Sources of individual differences in second language acquisition	Lily Wong Fillmore University of California Berkeley, CA 94720	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Cantonese & Spanish-speaking kindergarten students, learning style, social style
Sociolinguistics of literacy: an historical & comparative study	Bernard Spolsky Univ. of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87131	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Model of literacy; Cherokee, Jewish, Navajo, New Mexican, Aymara & Polynesian languages
Oral narratives of bilingual Mexican-American adult basic education	Nancy Ainsworth Michigan State University East Lansing, MI 48824	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Ethnography of speaking; classroom activity
Oral language acquisition among Cherokee	Barbara Powell P.O. Box 769 Tahlequah, OK 74464	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Rural children; mother/child interaction
Relating reading skills of minority bilingual personnel to reading demands of work	Concepcion M. Valadez Univ. of California Los Angeles, CA	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Minority & bilingual persons, industry training job placement
Social organization of participation in four Alaskan cross-cultural classrooms	Wendy Rosen Center for Cross-Cultural Studies Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks, AK 99701	Teaching & Instruction T&L	Native and nonnative teachers; Koyukon Athabaskan Village
Interaction effects of school & home environments on students of varying race, ethnicity, class, & gender	William J. Genova 385 Elliot St. Newton, MA 02164	Teaching & Instruction, T&L	American Chinese, Portuguese, Carribean Black, Armenian, Irish & Jewish students
Social influences on the participation of Mexican-American women in science	Patricia MacCorquodale Southwest Institute for Research on Women, Univ. of Arizona Tucson, AZ 85721	Learning & Development, T&L	Factors facilitating & preventing female participation in Science

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
Cultural integration of Asian-American professional women	Esther Chow American University Massachusetts & Nebraska Ave. Washington, DC 20016	Learning & Development, T&L	Career development; questionnaire
Development of a guide for research on Asian-Pacific women: Korea & Japan	Hesung Chun Koh Human Relations Areas Files, 2054 Yale	Learning & Development, T&L	Analytic & quality control information; reference guide
Language & cultural determinants to mastery of mathematics concepts by undergraduate Native American students	Charles G. Moore Northern Arizona University Flagstaff, AZ 86011	Learning & Development, T&L	Interviews in university & communities, Hopi; Navajo, Apaches; Hualapais
A Neo-Piagetian approach to test bias	Edward A. DeAvila P.O. Box 770 Larkspur, CA 94939	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation, T&L	Cultural differences test validity, test bias, Anglo, Black, & Mexican-American students
An ethnographic analysis of testing & the Navajo student	David Bachelor Southwest Research Associates P.O. Box 4092 Albuquerque, NM 87196	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation, T&L	Classroom observation of testing process
Effects of testwiseness on the reading achievement scores of minority populations	Stephen Powers Tucson Unified School District, Research & Evaluation Dept. 1010 E. 10th St. Tucson, AZ 85719	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation,	Black, Mexican-American, Native American, Anglo, elementary & junior high
Patterns of internal and external support structures, world views, & strategies used by urban Indian children who are successful in school	Marigold Linton Minneapolis Public Schools, Indian Education Section 807 N.E. Broadway Minneapolis, MN 55413	Home, Community & Work, T&L	Urban schools; parental interviews
Puerto Rican children's informal learning events at home	Evelyn Jacob Center for Applied Linguistics 3520 Prospect St. N.W. Washington, DC 20007	Home, Community and Work, T&L	Observational data; learning events at home
Home-school community linkages: a study of educational equity for Punjabi youth	Margaret A. Gibson California State University Sacramento, CA 95819	Home, Community and Work, T&L	Interviews, comparative case study
Summer institute on advanced study on educational research for Asian Americans	Sau-Lim Tsang Berkeley Unified School District 2168 Shattuck Ave. 3rd Floor Berkeley, CA 94704	Minorities & Women Program, DIP	Courses in research methodology; sociolinguistics
Navajo philosophy of education: its traditional sources and contemporary and national contexts	Dillon Platero Dine Biolta Assn. Univ. of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87103	Minorities & Women, DIP	Advanced research

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
Asian & Pacific American educational research seminars	Kenyon S. Chan National Assn. of Asian & Pacific American Education, P.O. Box 3487 Seattle, WA 98114	Minorities & Women Program, DIP	Professional training; immigrant students; research publications
Increasing participation by minorities & women in advanced study & research in education	Eduardo Marenco, Jr. National Director for Policy Research, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund 28 Geary Street San Francisco, CA 94108	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Civil rights policy research, career development
Capacity building in minority institutions an alternative model for access to non-traditional research opportunities	Maria Cerda Latino Institute 55 E. Jackson, Suite 2150 Chicago, IL 60604	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Latino researchers; publications; research support services
Office for Advanced Research in Hispanic Education	Leonard A. Valverde Univ. of Texas Educational Bldg. #310 Austin, TX 78712	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Policy research; research on immigrant students, bilingual education, overcoming financial inequity
California State Department of Education Program: Increasing participation of minorities & women professionals in educational research	Heidi Dulay Bloomsbury West, Inc. 1111 Market St., 4th Fl. San Francisco, CA 94111	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Study program; mentor relationship
Evaluation training opportunities in Minnesota Indian bicultural project	Will Antell Minnesota Dept. of Educ. Capitol Square Bldg. 550 Cedar St. St. Paul, MN 55101	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Workshop; skill development
National Commission on Working Women	Joan Goodin Nat'l. Manpower Inst. 1211 Connecticut Ave. N.W. Washington, DC 20036	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Working women
School Finance: The problem of equity for poor and minority children	Robert Brischetto Trinity University San Antonio, TX 78284	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Minority group; State legislation
Women Facing Mid-Career Changes	Adeline Naiman Educational Development Center, Inc. 55 Chapel St. Newton, MA 02160	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Career education; Women's Education; Film
The implementation of equal educational opportunity by the Office for Civil Rights in the City of New York	Michael Rebell Rebell & Krieger 230 Park Ave. New York City, NY 10017	Program on Law and Public Management	Civil Rights; administrative reform
Education & the development of an urban female labor	Carl Kaestle Univ. of Wisconsin Madison, WI 53706	Program on Law and Public Management	School industry relationship; sex discrimination
Indian education reform	Myron Jones Indian Education Training, Inc. 1110 Pennsylvania N.E. Albuquerque, NM 87110	Program on Law and Public Management	

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
Citizen organization: a study of citizen participation in educational decision-making	Don Davies Institute for Responsive Education 704 Commonwealth Ave. Boston, MA 02215	Educational Organizations & Local Communities, EPO	School community relationship, minority groups, urban schools
Women & minorities in the principalship	M. Bagley JWK International Corp. 7617 Little River Annandale, VA 22003	Educational Organizations, and Local Communities, EPO	Minority women, selection and training procedures
Women on law faculties	Susan Weisberg American Bar Foundation 1155 East 60th St. Chicago, IL 60637	Educational Organization and Local Communities, EPO	Women professors, sex discrimination national survey
Urban school organizations and the American working class: an historical analysis	Ira Katznelson Univ. of Chicago 5828 S. Univ. Ave. Chicago, IL 60637	Educational Organizations and Local Communities, EPO	Working class men and women, their institutions, churches, labor unions, and political parties

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